CHRISTIANITY AND ITS JUDAIC HERITAGE

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An Introduction with Selected Sources

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PREFACE

This book is a survey of the Judaic-Christian tradition from the period of Israel's beginnings to the end of the Reformation Era. It is primarily intended for use by undergraduate students in courses dealing with the historical development of the religious tradition which underlies our Western civilization. Courses of this type are now offered in most colleges and universities under such titles as Introduction to Christianity, Introduction to Judaism and Christianity, Survey of the Judaic-Christian Tradition, Religious Tradition of the West, and the like.

In the selection of material, emphasis has been placed upon the formative periods of religious development, when standards and values were being crystallized and given definitive statement. Thus for Judaism the Age of the Mishna is the period when the norms of Jewish religious life were fixed, and it is appropriate that the study of ancient Judaism should culminate in a chapter called "The World of the Talmud." Two chapters of the fifteen dealing with the history of Christianity are devoted to the life and teachings of Jesus because of the centrality of Jesus to the total Christian tradition; and six chapters have been given to the study of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations. The book ends with a study of the rise of modern denominations in seventeenth-century England, the point at which courses dealing with the History of Religion in America normally begin.

A unique feature of this book is the inclusion of primary source materials at the end of each chapter and the integration of these source readings with the text and with the Questions for Study and Discussion which accompany each chapter. Source materials of various types have been used. Among older historical and archaeological materials are included the Israel Stele of Merneptah, the Moabite Stone, the Elephantine Papyri, and descriptions of the Essenes in an-

cient literature (Josephus, Philo, and Pliny). From the cuneiform tablets found at Ras Shamra (Ugarit), a portion of the Epic of Baal is reproduced. The Litany of the Common Meal of the Essenes and the Rules of the Essene Order are reprinted from the Manual of Discipline used by the Qumran monks. The texts of various creedal statements are provided, including the Nicene Creed, the Definition of Chalcedon, and later statements of faith, such as the Westminster Confession of Faith, the oldest Baptist Confession of Faith, and Robert Barclay's "Leading Principles of the Quakers." Historical documents include extensive portions of the Benedictine Rule and the Rule of the Society of Jesus, as well as numerous papal decrees of the Middle Ages.

At the end of each chapter, a carefully annotated bibliography is provided, with specific suggestions about books which provide most useful material for further investigation of topics mentioned in the text.

I am indebted to teachers and scholars too numerous to mention. I do wish, however, to express my gratitude to the following members of the faculty and staff of Boston University, all of whom have read portions of the manuscript before publication: Dr. Malcolm E. Agnew, Chairman of the Department of Classics; Rabbi Samuel Perlman, Director of the Hillel Foundation; Miss Dean Hosken, Dr. K. W. Kim, and Dr. C. Allyn Russell, all colleagues in the Department of Religion. Finally, I wish also to thank my wife for her constant encouragement.

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CARL E. PURINTON

Boston, Massachusetts
March, 1961

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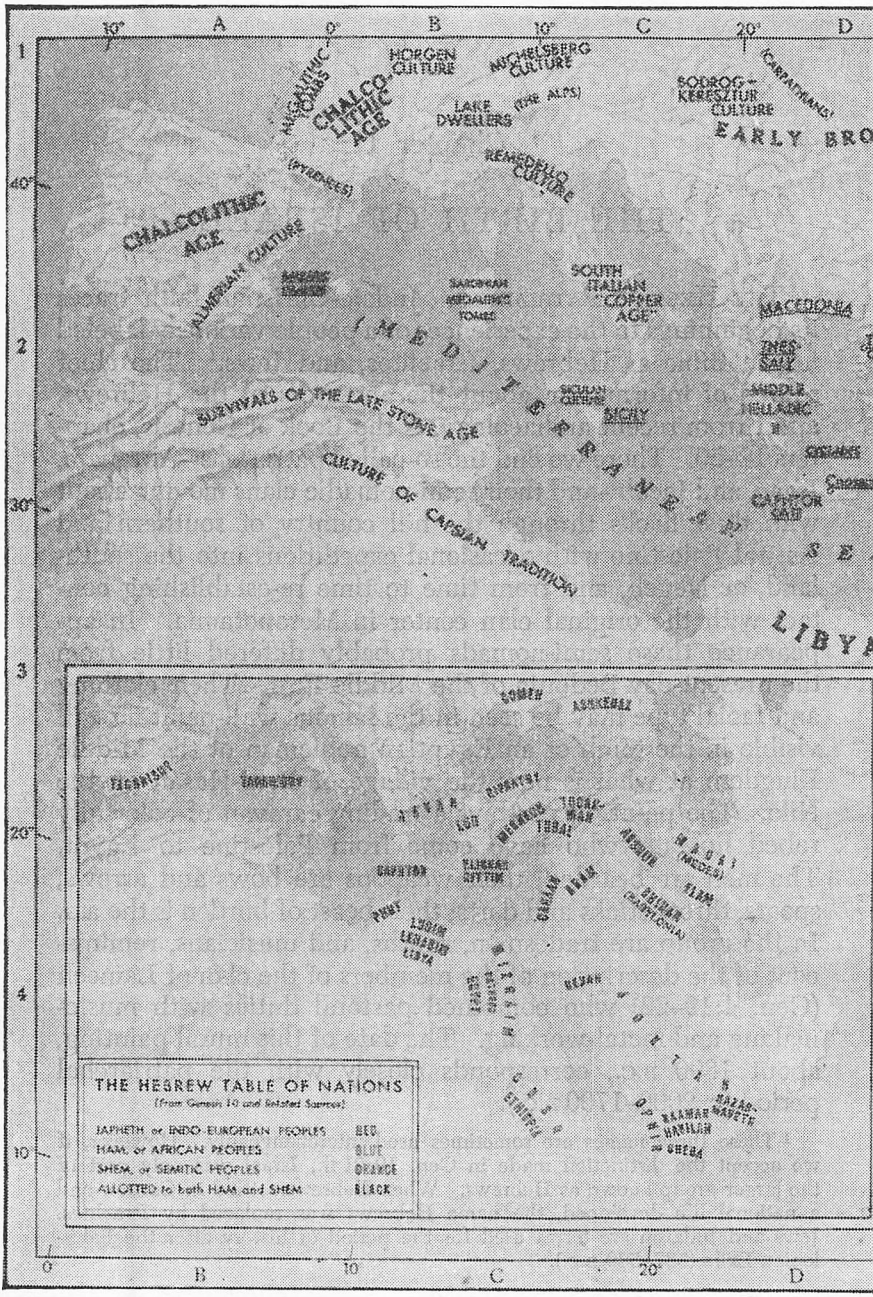
CHRISTIANITY
AND
ITS JUDAIC HERITAGE

Chapter 1

THE BIRTH OF ISRAEL

THE HEBREW PATRIARCHS. Judaic-Christian faith traces its beginnings to the experiences of a people variously labeled in the Bible as Hebrews, Israelites, and Jews.[1] The chief source of information about the ancestors of the Hebrews, apart from recent archaeology, is the Book of Genesis, chapters 12–50. There we find the so-called patriarchs—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—and their semi-nomadic clans moving about with their flocks through the hill country of southern and central Palestine with occasional expeditions into the southland, or Negeb, and from time to time re-establishing contact with the original clan center in Mesopotamia. In appearance these semi-nomads probably differed little from the present-day Bedouin of the Middle East. Their clothing and facial type may be seen in the famous wall-painting still visible in the tomb of an Egyptian nobleman of the Middle Kingdom at what is now the village of Beni-Hasan on the Nile. The painting portrays a trading caravan of colorfully robed nomads who have come from Palestine to Egypt. The men are bearded; their weapons are bows and arrows, spears, throw-sticks and darts; their beast of burden is the ass. In the group are tradesmen, smiths, and musicians, reminiscent of the description of the members of the clan of Lamech (Gen. 4:19–22) who combined pastoral duties with music-making and metal-working. The date of this mural painting, about 1890 B.C., corresponds closely with the patriarchal period (*c.* 2000–1700 B.C.).

[1] These three names are sometimes used interchangeably. However, if we accept the distinction made in Gen. 10:21 ff., Israel was only part of the larger group known as Hebrews. When Hebrews settled in Canaan and a national life developed, the name Hebrews was replaced by Israelites. Jews and Judaism are terms used for the period of history after the Babylonian Exile (587–539 B.C.).


A
B
C
D
10°
0°
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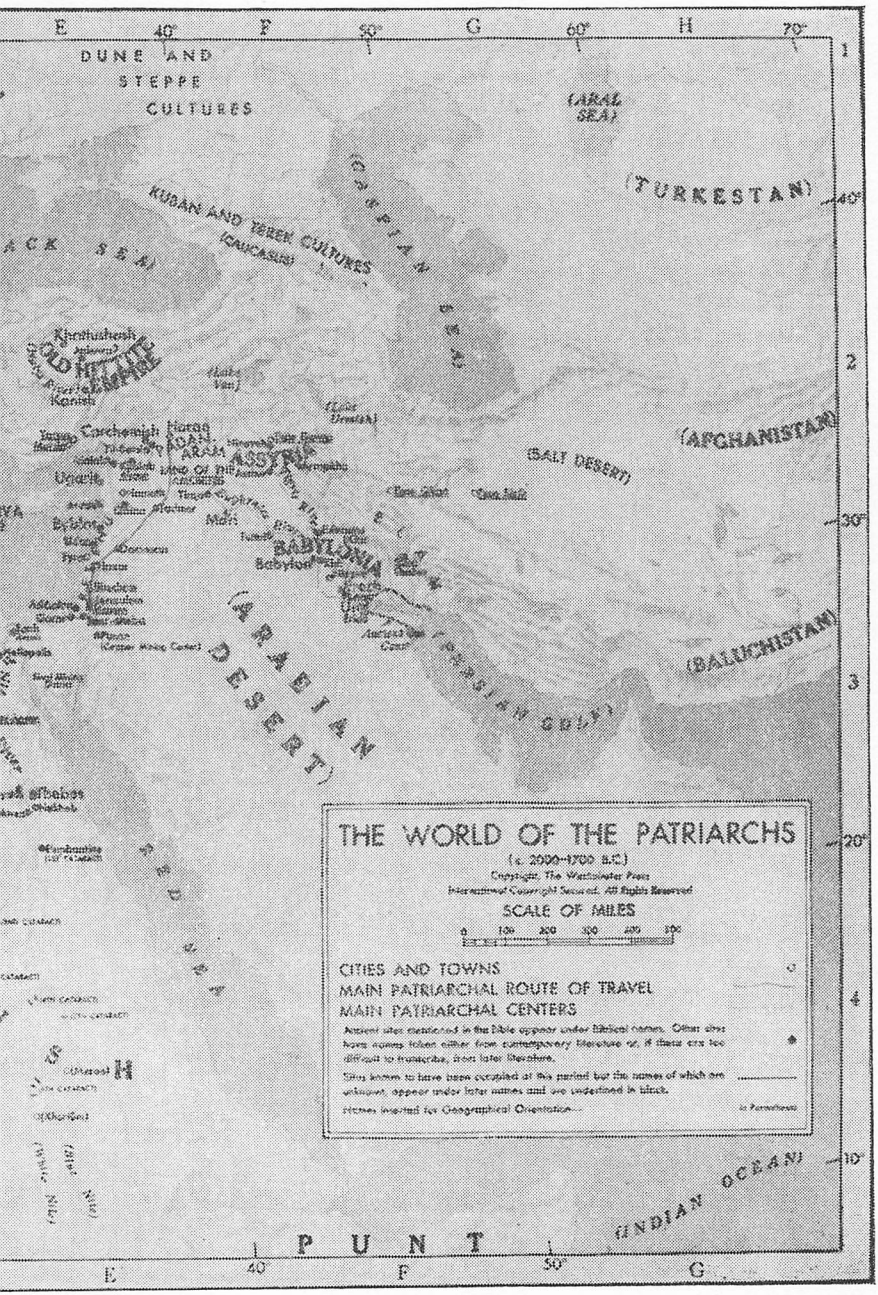
20°
1
2
3
4
40°
30°
20°
10°
MEGALITHIC TOMBS
CHALCO-LITHIC AGE
HORGEN CULTURE
MICHELSBERG CULTURE
LAKE DWELLERS
(THE ALPS)
BODROG-KERESZTUR CULTURE
(CARPATHIANS)
EARLY BRO
REMEDELLO CULTURE
(PYRENEES)
CHALCOLITHIC AGE
ALMERIAN CULTURE
SOUTH ITALIAN "COPPER AGE"
MACEDONIA
SURVIVALS OF THE LATE STONE AGE
CULTURE OF CAPSIAN TRADITION
MEDITERRANEAN SE
LIBYA
SUMER
ASHKENAZ
TIGRANSHU
TARKUDDU
ELAM
ASSYRIA
LUD
MESHECH
TUBAL
THORAS-MAH
ARPHAXAD
MAGOG (MEDES)
CAPHTOR
ELISHAH KITTIM
ELAM
ASSHUR
ELAM (ANSHAN)
PUNT
LUBIM LEHABIM LIBYA
CANAAN
ARAM
EGYPT
EGYPT
PHILISTIA
EDOM
AMMON
MOAB
GAZA
GERRHA
ARABIA
NAZARENES
HAMILAH
UBERA
THE HEBREW TABLE OF NATIONS
(From Genesis 10 and Related Sources)
JAPHETH or INDO-EUROPEAN PEOPLES — RED
HAM, or AFRICAN PEOPLES — BLUE
SHEM, or SEMITIC PEOPLES — ORANGE
ALLOTTED to both HAM and SHEM — BLACK


E
40°
F
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G
60°
H
70°
1
2
3
4
DUNE AND STEPPE CULTURES
ARAL SEA
(TURKESTAN)
40°
KUBAN AND TEREK CULTURES (CAUCASUS)
CASPIAN SEA
(AFGHANISTAN)
(SALT DESERT)
30°
BABYLONIA
(ARABIAN DESERT)
(PERSIAN GULF)
(BALUCHISTAN)
20°
THE WORLD OF THE PATRIARCHS
(c. 2000–1700 B.C.)
Copyright, The Westminster Press
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SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
CITIES AND TOWNS
MAIN PATRIARCHAL ROUTE OF TRAVEL
MAIN PATRIARCHAL CENTERS
Ancient sites mentioned in the Bible appear under Biblical names. Other sites have names taken either from contemporary literature or, if these are too difficult to transcribe, from later literature.
Sites known to have been occupied at this period but the names of which are unknown, appear under later names and are underlined in black.
Names inserted for Geographical Orientation
(Parenthesis)
10°
INDIAN OCEAN
PUNT
E
40°
F
50°
G

It is now generally accepted that the Hebrew patriarchs were Semitic nomads or semi-nomads. Both tradition and archaeology agree that northern Mesopotamia was their home in the period described in Genesis 12–50, although there is a tradition which describes an early flight of one clan from Ur of the Chaldees in southern Babylonia. According to Genesis 11:31–32, Terah, the father of Abram (Abraham), took his family from Ur of the Chaldees to Haran in northwest Mesopotamia and had intended to migrate still further westward to Canaan.

> Terah took Abram his son and Lot the son of Haran, his grandson, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife, and they went forth together from Ur of the Chaldeans to go into the land of Canaan; but when they came to Haran, they settled there.

There is no historical evidence to document this. Even the excavations at Ur, which was in ancient times a great city of the lower Tigris-Euphrates valley, have revealed no evidence that Terah and Abraham dwelled there, but, according to Albright, destruction of the city by the Elamites around 1950 B.C. gives this tradition of an early flight from Ur a plausible historical setting.[2]

Northern Mesopotamia became and remained the patriarchal center even after the departure of Abraham and Lot and their families for Canaan, as is shown by the narrative in which Abraham sent to Nahor for a wife for his son, Isaac, and Jacob's journey to Haran and marriage there. In Canaan (Palestine), where the clans most closely associated with the Bible finally settled, the name of Abraham is identified with the town of Hebron. Here one is still shown the Oak of Mamre (Gen. 18:1 ff.) (although from one decade to another it may be a different tree), and one may visit the ancient mosque of Hebron called by the present-day Arab residents, Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi. It is said to have been built over the Cave of Macpelah, which had been bought from Ephron the Hittite as a burial place for Sarah (Gen. 23).

[2] W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (2d ed.; Baltimore; Johns Hopkins Press, 1957), p. 236.

HISTORY VERSUS TRADITION. The Book of Genesis contains different, sometimes inconsistent, statements about patriarchal backgrounds. Such difficulties can be explained if one will keep in mind certain keys to the understanding of the early books of the Bible. In the first place, it is necessary to recognize the use made of different sources in the compilation of the Pentateuch (the first five books of the Old Testament).[3] In the second place, the student should be aware of the composite character of Israel as a nation. Many different tribal groups contributed to the final amalgam which constituted Israel, and the various clans brought with them their own cultural contributions and traditions. The Israelites were not even an exclusively Semitic people. Intermarriage with surrounding groups, some of which were undoubtedly of Aryan stock, constantly took place. Thus Ezekiel (16:3) says of the Jews of Jerusalem: "Your father was an Amorite, and your mother a Hittite."

In the third place, it is important to be aware of the distinction between history and tradition. The patriarchal narratives are *tradition,* that is, they were handed down verbally from generation to generation. Traditional, oral history is very different from documented historical writing with its systematic record of chronological events related to a particular country or people. The special character and value of unwritten tradition is a subject deserving careful study.[4] Kathleen Kenyon, the most recent excavator of ancient Jericho, for whom an understanding of the relationship between tradition and history has naturally been of especial importance, has stated:

> In interpreting the Old Testament record, it is necessary to remember how it is composed. From the period of the Patriarchs on-

[3] At least four earlier sources underly the Pentateuch. There are two ancient sources; the J (Judean, Jehovistic) document, formerly dated in the ninth century B.C., but today placed by some scholars as early as the tenth century B.C., and the E (Ephraimite, Elohistic) document coming from the eighth century B.C., if not earlier. Two other sources may also be distinguished: the D (Deuteronomic), which comes from the seventh century B.C., and the P (Priestly) document, which dates from the fifth century B.C.

[4] For a summary and bibliographical references, see W. F. Albright, *op. cit.,* pp. 64 ff.

wards, the earlier books of the Old Testament are true history, but it is a traditional history, a record of tribal events transmitted verbally . . . Traditional, verbal, history is incomplete, striking events alone being remembered, and its chronological framework is very loose, for it must be remembered that the Israelites had no fixed calendar.[5]

Tradition is *selective*. The tribal bards were chiefly interested in handing down interesting anecdotes about the personal and domestic lives of their subjects, rather than in giving an account of public, or what we should call, international affairs. Then, too, there is the "time-lag" between the patriarchal events and the reporting of them, at first in oral, and only later in written form. Recognition of this lapse in time between events of the patriarchal period and the recording of these events in the present form of the later chapters of the Book of Genesis inevitably raises the question of authenticity. In other words, do these chapters of Genesis reflect the views of the later biblical writers who edited the early books of the Bible rather than the actual life and times of the patriarchs themselves? This is a problem which has concerned many thoughtful persons. It has been carefully considered by the British scholar S. H. Hooke in a comparison of *saga* (the term he uses for tradition) and history. According to Hooke, although the patriarchal narratives cannot be called history they are sagas that have great value for the historian.

. . . [They] throw much light on the social and political conditions of the people among whom they arise, and the sagas of Genesis, while they throw light on the religious ideas of the writers who were using this material, also reflect in many ways the customs and social conditions of an age so far removed in time from that of the Hebrew historian who recorded them that he did not always understand what he was recording; so that we may believe him to have faithfully preserved much of the ancient tradition of his people in its early form. Hence, in studying these stories of Genesis it is necessary to distinguish those elements which reflect the religious and social point of view of the writer from those which truly depict the actual conditions and beliefs of the earliest period of the history of the Hebrew people.[6]

[5] *Digging Up Jericho* (London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1957), p. 257.
[6] *In The Beginning* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1947), pp. 60, 62.

CONFIRMATION FROM ARCHAEOLOGY. Recent archaeological discoveries have given striking evidence of the "value for history" of the patriarchal narratives. The names of persons and places in clay tablets found at Mari on the middle Euphrates correspond to a considerable extent to persons and places mentioned in the later chapters of Genesis. Examples are Abram and Jacob and Haran and Nahor. Even more striking is the close resemblance between the domestic customs of the patriarchal families and the customary law of ancient Mesopotamia. Tablets found in recent years in the ruins of the north Mesopotamian city of Nuzi (or Nuzu) contain close parallels to social practices referred to in Genesis and, moreover, clear up certain details mentioned but not fully explained in Genesis. For example, the theft by Rachel of Laban's gods in Genesis 31:19,30 is now given motivation, because the Nuzi tablets show that possession of one's father's gods was proof of the right of inheritance.[7] Nuzi tablets also throw light on the story of Abraham and Hagar in Genesis 16, since a marriage contract written on a clay tablet indicates that a bridegroom must not take another wife unless his first wife fails to bear him children. In the latter case, it is the first wife's duty to provide her husband with a slave wife and she is required to treat the child of such a slave wife kindly.[8] The similarity between the stories about the Hebrew fathers and the social mores of ancient Mesopotamia is strong evidence that the origins of Hebrew life are to be found in this region.

THE HEBREWS IN EGYPT. According to biblical tradition, Israel (some Hebrew clans, not all) went down into Egypt, increased and prospered for a time, but was later oppressed and enslaved. The Israelites entered Egypt in search of food, a search that has driven nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes from the desert into the sown land from time immemorial. It is plausibly stated in the Joseph cycle of narratives in the Book of Genesis (41:57; 42:5): "Moreover, all the earth came to Egypt to Joseph to buy grain, because the

[7] See Appendix A.
[8] See Appendix B.

famine was severe over all the earth . . . Thus the sons of Israel came to buy among the others who came, for the famine was in the land of Canaan." A vivid picture here comes to us from a thirteenth-century frontier record preserved on papyrus.[9] The settlement of Hebrews in Egypt seems to have coincided with, and may perhaps have been encouraged by, the Hyksos conquest of Egypt about 1720/10 B.C. The Hyksos were an Asiatic people that included Semites, if they were not predominantly Semitic in racial stock. This would explain the readiness with which the Israelites were permitted to graze their flocks within the northeastern boundaries of the Nile delta and later to settle down side by side with the native population, among whom they at first increased and prospered. The Joseph story in Genesis gains plausibility from the discovery of many Semitic names among lists of Hyksos officials of Egypt.

The reference to the rise of "a new king over Egypt, who did not know Joseph" also corresponds with historical information about the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt. After the Hyksos had occupied and controlled parts of Egypt for a full two centuries, the native Egyptians rebelled against their foreign rulers and drove them out.[10] The nationalist rebels, under the leadership of Ahmose I, captured Avaris (Tanis), the Hyksos capital in the northeastern delta, about 1560 B.C. The new political situation may well account for the change of policy toward the Israelites in Egypt described in Exodus 1:8 ff.

OPPRESSION AND EXODUS. Our information about the Oppression of Israelites in Egypt and the Exodus rests solely upon the Book of Exodus. Egyptian records mention neither the Oppression nor the Exodus. However, this silence is not surprising. For the Egyptians, a slave uprising and the escape of some refugees from Egypt would be of little historical importance, whereas Hebrew historians looking back upon this event from a later perspective might well

[9] See Appendix C.
[10] See Appendix D.

see in it the work of Providence. One might add that no Egyptian monarch ever found it necessary to inscribe upon the monuments erected to perpetuate his memory anything which might be considered to detract from his glory.

The Oppression of Israelites in Egypt and their Exodus from Egypt under the leadership of Moses are both described in the Book of Exodus, but the identity of the pharaohs of the Oppression and Exodus is not known with any certainty. There is archaeological evidence pointing to Seti I (1319–1301) as the ruler who inaugurated the construction program in connection with which the Israelites were drafted as forced labor. Sometimes Ramses II (1290–1224) has been taken to be the pharaoh of the Oppression, and Merneptah (1224–1216), his son and successor, to be the pharaoh of the Exodus. More commonly today Ramses II is considered to have been the Egyptian ruler of the Oppression and the Exodus as well, for reasons which will be given below.

The tradition that Israelite slave labor "built for Pharaoh store cities, Pithom and Raamses" (Exod. 1:11) may well rest upon a foundation of historical fact. On the basis of information outside the Bible it is now known that itinerant nomads living on the borders of settled lands in all parts of the Middle East were often employed by the wealthy and powerful as servants, slaves, laborers, and in other capacities. It is therefore quite possible that any of the pharaohs of that period should have exploited the Semitic nomads who had settled on the northeastern fringes of the Nile delta. The two cities of Pithom and Ramses have now been identified with a considerable degree of probability with the ruins of two ancient cities on the eastern side of the delta, Tell Retabeh and Tanis. Both of these ancient cities were built or rebuilt by Ramses II. Tanis (then called Avaris) had been the capital of the Hyksos rulers of Egypt, and when rebuilt by Ramses II it was renamed after its builder "The House of Ramses." Exodus 1:11 explicitly states that Israelite laborers built this city. Tanis was located in the center of the Israelite settlement on the eastern side of the delta. Moreover, the topography of the region fits the description of the starting-

point of the Exodus as that is given in Exodus 12:37 and 13:20 ff.[11]

The line of evidence which has been given above points to Ramses II as the Pharaoh both of the Oppression and the Exodus. This view is supported by the famous Merneptah stele, discovered at Thebes in the mortuary temple of Merneptah and now preserved in the Cairo Museum of Antiquities. On this stone monument the word "Israel" occurs for the only time in Egyptian records. The line on which the name is recorded states: "Israel is laid waste, his seed is not."[12] The date of the Merneptah stele is 1219 B.C., according to Albright. If the line refers to Israelites who had been in Egypt, or to their immediate descendants, the inscription is strong evidence for a thirteenth-century dating of the Exodus. Corroboration of this view comes from an inscribed bowl found in 1937 among the ruins of Canaanite Lachish that proves that this city was destroyed by invaders about 1220 B.C.[13]

One further bit of evidence may be offered in support of the argument already presented. This is the discovery among the ruins of ancient Pithom of large stones on which are inscribed the names of successive Egyptian rulers. The earliest name listed is that of Ramses II. The same inscriptions speak of a certain *p'r* (Apiru, Habiru) people as a foreign group employed as forced labor in the work of construction. This is a striking parallel to the statement of Exodus 1:11 regarding the use of Hebrew slaves in building royal "store-cities" and lends confirmation to a thirteenth century date for the Oppression and Exodus.

MOSES, PRINCE OF EGYPT. One can hardly overestimate the importance of Moses in the history of religions. "Without him there would be no Old Testament, no Jewish people, no Judaism, and no Christian church; perhaps also no religion of Islam."[14] Unfortunately we have little or no information

[11] See W. F. Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

[12] See Appendix E for a longer portion of the inscription.

[13] Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

[14] Fleming James, *Personalities of the Old Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939), p. 1.

of historical value about the early life of Moses. This silence is not surprising, since it is in keeping with the usage of Jewish writers of the biblical period. "They were interested in a great man's life only *after* he had appeared on the stage of history."[15] On the basis of Hebrew tradition, recorded in Exodus 2, it is safe to assume that Moses was born in Egypt of Israelite parents, Israelite by birth, but Egyptian by culture. His name, Moses (son, son of), has an Egyptian not Hebrew derivation and is similar to such familiar Egyptian names as Ahmose, Thutmose, and the like.[16] The birth story follows the traditional pattern of ancient times in describing the birth of a deliverer. It is very similar to the legend told about Sargon of Agade.[17] The absence of information has given the historical imagination free play in reconstructing the youth and early manhood of Moses. Some writers have held that his non-Egyptian birth would have disqualified him from a military career and have found reasons to believe that he had been groomed for the only other vocation suitable to his high station, the priesthood. Others, including Irenaeus, Josephus, and the twentieth-century dramatist Christopher Fry in his play *The First-born,* have portrayed Moses in his early maturity as a great general who dramatically threw away the advantages of power for the sake of moral duty.

Although we may not know as much as we might wish about the early history of Moses, we do know what he was like. The "ethical dimension" is vividly present in the situation which led Moses to renounce his Egyptian royal background and identify himself with his own people. Moses was led to take this decisive step by witnessing two successive acts of injustice, the killing of a Hebrew slave by an Egyptian taskmaster (Exod. 2:11),[18] and the abuse of one Hebrew by another member of his own race (2:13).

[15] Joseph Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925), p. 238.

[16] Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

[17] See Appendix F.

[18] "The translation *beating a Hebrew* is quite inadequate in this context" —J. Coert Rylaarsdam in *The Interpreter's Bible,* Vol. I (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1951), p. 862.

Aware that his identity as slayer of the Egyptian overseer had become known, Moses fled to the desert, always the refuge of men outside the law, in this case the desert of Midian across the Gulf of Aqabah from the Sinai peninsula. Here among the nomads Moses married a daughter of Jethro, the chieftain and high priest of the Midianites, fathered one son, according to one source (Exod. 2:22), and two, according to another (Exod. 18:3), and led the peaceful life of a shepherd. But he could not forget Egypt.

THE CALL OF MOSES. The prophetic call of Moses is described in Exodus 3:1–14. Moses, seeking pasturage for his flocks, had come to "the mountain of God," apparently a religious place well known in local tradition. There in the midst of a bush an "angel of the Lord," a religious messenger who turned out to be God himself (3:4), appeared to Moses. This is, of course, the language of revelation. "Moses actually sees a messenger *in* the blaze, he sees nothing other than this."[19] Then Moses was ordered to take off his shoes, because the ground on which he stood was holy.[20] The words of God to Moses in 3:7–10 indicate a moral purpose. God is concerned about the wrongs suffered by the Israelites in Egypt. Here again is the "ethical dimension" of Hebrew faith. Prophetic religion involves "a passion for righteousness, and for the spread of righteousness, conceived as a cosmic demand."[21]

THE MEANING OF THE NAME. A "great duologue"[22] begins in Exodus 3:11, in which God commands and Moses protests his inadequacy. Then Moses asks the name of the God who has commissioned him to deliver his kinsmen from Egypt. The proper name of the Hebrew God revealed to Moses in Exodus 3:14 consists of four consonants, sometimes called the "sacred tetragrammaton." The four letters in English transliteration are *YHWH* (or *JHVH*). It has been centuries-

[19] Martin Buber, *Moses* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1946), p. 41.

[20] The removal of shoes in a sacred place is still a custom of Semitic peoples as when one enters the Haram esh-Sherif, or sacred area, within old Jerusalem today, or a mosque anywhere in the world.

[21] W. E. Hocking, *Living Religions and a World Faith* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940), p. 26.

[22] Buber, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

old synagogue usage to substitute "Adonai" (Lord) for *YHWH* when the latter occurs in the text of Scripture, for the holy name has been considered too sacred to pronounce.

Different theories have been proposed concerning the meaning of the name. *YHWH* is derived from the stem of the verb "to be," which in the first person and in the future tense of Exodus 3:12 becomes "I will be with you." Rashi, the medieval Jewish commentator, letting his thoughts range over the centuries after Moses, interpreted the name to mean "I will be with them in their sorrow." James Moffatt, in his translation of the Bible, paraphrased the proper name of God throughout the Bible in this same temporal sense as "The Eternal." Albright, however, asserts that only the causative form of the verb from which the name is taken makes sense. Yahweh, as the four letter name was probably pronounced, thus had the meaning of the One "who causes to be, the Creator of All."

THE NEWNESS OF YAHWEH-WORSHIP. A comparison of different passages in the Book of Exodus, and of the underlying sources,[23] strongly confirms the newness of Yahweh-worship in the time of Moses. Although the J document carries the worship of Yahweh back not only to Abraham (Gen. 12:1), but to the most remote past (Gen. 4:26), both the E and the P documents affirm the newness of Moses' worship of God under the name Yahweh. The passage in Exodus 3:13–15, coming from the E document, is written in question-and-answer form:

> Then Moses said to God, "If I come to the people of Israel and say to them, 'The God of your fathers has sent me to you,' and they ask me, 'What is his name?' what shall I say to them? . . . God also said to Moses, "Say this to the people of Israel, 'The Lord, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has sent me to you': this is my name forever, and thus I am to be remembered throughout all generations." (Exod. 3:13,15)

The P document is even more explicit:

> And God said to Moses, "I am the Lord. I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, as God Almighty, but by my name the Lord, I did not make myself known to them." (Exod. 6:2–3)

[23] J, E, and P (see p. 6, n. 3), are the sources used in Exodus.

Whereas the chief name by which God had been known among the Hebrews in the patriarchal period had been El Shaddai, from this time on the name that is to be used is Yahweh. It is Yahweh who delivers Israel from bondage in Egypt and who makes a covenant with Israel.

SINAI AND THE COVENANT. The story of the deliverance from oppression in Egypt, including successive encounters of Moses with Pharaoh; the "signs and wonders" which only hardened Pharaoh's heart and the final plague which took all the first-born of Egypt, not excepting that of Pharaoh, but which spared the houses of the people of Israel; the crossing of the Red Sea; the gathering at the foot of Mount Sinai and the judging of the people there by Moses—all this is dramatically narrated in the Book of Exodus. But Moses is much more than the inspired leader of the Israelite journey out of bondage into freedom. He is the founder of Israel as a religious community. The chief tie that bound the following of Moses was a bond of faith. It is now recognized that the clans which followed Moses out of Egypt were of mixed origin, based upon a nucleus only of those who traced their lineage back to Jacob. Thus Exodus 12:38 informs us that it was a "mixed multitude" (presumably non-Israelite Semites) which accompanied the people of Israel out of Egypt. And Numbers 11:4 speaks of "the rabble" which constituted part of the following of Moses. Later, when the Israelites settled in Palestine, they were joined in a federation by large blocs of non-Israelite inhabitants of the land. Thus the basis of unity within Israel was never that of race, but that of religion. The bond of unity was to be the Covenant.

The giving of the Covenant is vividly described in Exodus 19. It is a Covenant, not between Moses and the community, but of Yahweh with a people who pledge their obedience to the God of the Covenant. The Covenant consists of a promise on the part of Yahweh combined with certain stipulations laid upon the people: "Now therefore, if you will obey my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be my own possession among all peoples; for all the earth is mine, and you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Exod. 19:5–6). The phrase in verse 6, "for all the earth is mine,"

suggests the graciousness of the sovereign God of the universe in conferring his favor upon a humble people. In Exodus 24:1–11 the Covenant is sealed with blood, an episode described in language which has received rich symbolic meaning in later biblical passages: "Then he took the book of the covenant, and read it in the hearing of the people; and they said, 'All that the Lord has spoken we will do, and we will be obedient.' And Moses took the blood and threw it upon the people, and said, 'Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord has made with you in accordance with all these words' " (Exod. 24:7–8).

New light has recently been thrown upon the meaning of the Mosaic covenant by a study of Hittite covenant forms which go back to Mesopotamian custom of the second millennium B.C.[24] Hittite covenants were of two types, suzerainty and parity treaties. In the parity type of treaty, both parties are bound by oaths, but in the suzerainty covenant only the vassal or subject party is required to obligate himself. This is not to say that the great king will forget his promises, but the emphasis is upon the duty of the vassal to have confidence in the generosity of the sovereign. It is the suzerainty concept which underlies the Mosaic covenant. What is involved is not an agreement between equals. Yahweh has convenanted himself with Israel by his own free will and in a spirit of love. The Book of Deuteronomy, sometimes described as a "spiritual history of Israel," truly interprets the spirit of the covenant.

> It was not because you were more in number than any other people that the Lord set his love upon you and chose you, for you were the fewest of all peoples; but it is because the Lord loves you, and is keeping the oath which he wrote to your fathers, that the Lord has brought you out with a mighty hand, and redeemed you from the house of bondage, from the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt. (7:7–8)

So the later prophets viewed the ancient covenant: "When Israel was a child, I loved him, and out of Egypt I called my son," Yahweh is represented as saying in the book of the

[24] G. E. Mendenhall, "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, XVII, No. 3 (Sept. 1954), pp. 50 ff.

prophet Hosea (11:1). Such a gift from God merits not a grudging, but rather a whole-hearted, joyous response. This emphasis upon joy in God remains to this day one of the most moving attributes of Jewish religious life.[25]

MOSES AND THE TEN COMMANDMENTS. In addition to being a prophet and the founder of a religious community, Moses is portrayed in the Book of Exodus as a law-giver, as well. In Exodus 18:13–26 and in the parallel passage, Numbers 11:11–17, 24–30, Moses is described as arbitrating differences presented to him in much the same way that present-day Bedouin sheikhs decide issues presented to them by their desert peoples. In his *Seven Pillars of Wisdom,* T. E. Lawrence describes how a twentieth-century Arab tribal leader, Feisal, later king of Iraq, gave audiences in his reception tent from eight to twelve in the morning and from two in the afternoon until the last suppliant had been heard. So too, according to Exodus 18:13, "Moses sat to judge the people, and the people stood about Moses from morning till evening."

How were Moses' decisions preserved? And, more generally, what is Moses' connection with the extensive Hebrew legislation now found running through the Pentateuch? Exodus 24:3 (E) suggests that Moses' words were transmitted and preserved orally, but verses 4 and 7 refer to the writing down of the "words of the Lord" and to a written "book of the covenant." These latter verses appear to reflect the viewpoint of the later D source, and the words of the law-giver were no doubt preserved originally in the form of oral tradition.

The Decalogue, or Ten Words, exists in two different forms in the present Book of Exodus. One is the so-called ethical Decalogue of Exodus 20:1–17 (with its near duplicate in Deuteronomy 5:6–21) and the other is the ritual Decalogue of Exodus 34:10–26. Both of these groups of laws in their present form reflect an agricultural setting and hence come

[25] Based in part upon the present writer's discussion of related material, in John C. Archer and Carl E. Purinton, *Faiths Men Live By* (2d ed.; New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1958), pp. 353–54.

from a later period than that of Moses. Is it possible to penetrate behind this later legislation and come closer to the words of Moses himself? Some leading scholars today believe that the ethical Decalogue of Exodus 20:1–17 presents at least the spirit of the founder of the Yahweh-faith. The approximate content of the original Ten Words has been reconstructed as follows:

God spoke all these words: I am Yahweh, your God, who brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slaves.

1. You shall have no other gods before me.
2. You shall not make me any graven image or any likeness.
3. You shall not invoke the name of Yahweh your God in vain.
4. Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy.
5. Honor your father and your mother.
6. You shall not commit murder.
7. You shall not commit adultery.
8. You shall not steal.
9. You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor.
10. You shall not covet your neighbor's house.[26]

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

A Sale-Adoption Tablet from Nuzu, *c.* 1500 B.C.[27]

["Sale-adoption was a legal device used in Nuzi whereby a landowner could circumvent the law prohibiting the sale of land outside the family by going through the form of adopting the purchaser" (Pritchard, p. 219 n.). This tablet throws light on the Jacob-Laban cycle of stories in Genesis 29–31, since it reveals that the possession of one's father's gods was proof of the right of inheritance. This is why Rachel stole the gods of her father, Laban (see Gen. 31:19, 30) for the benefit of her husband, Jacob, and why Laban, in Genesis 31:26 ff., was so anxious to get them back.]

[26] James Muilenburg, "The History of the Religion of Israel," in *The Interpreter's Bible,* Vol. I (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1952), p. 303.

[27] James B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (2d ed.; Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1955), p. 219.

The tablet of adoption belonging to Nashwi, the son of Ar-Shenni: Wullu shall provide food and clothing; when Nashwi dies, Wullu shall become the heir. If Nashwi has a son of his own, he shall divide (the estate) equally with Wullu, but the son of Nashwi shall take the gods of Nashwi. However, if Nashwi does not have a son of his own, then Wullu shall take the gods of Nashwi. Furthermore, he gave his daughter Nuhuya in marriage to Wullu, and if Wullu takes another wife he shall forfeit the lands and buildings of Nashwi. Whoever defaults shall make compensation with 1 mina of silver and 1 mina of gold.

Appendix B

A True Adoption Tablet from Nuzi (Abridged)[28]

[This tablet should be compared with Genesis 16:1–5. It reveals the Mesopotamian custom of the second millennium B.C. requiring a first wife who did not bear her husband children to provide her husband with another wife.]

The tablet of adoption belonging to [Zike], the son of Akkuya: he gave his Son Shennima in adoption to Shuriha-ilu, and Shuriha-ilu with reference to Shennima, (from) all the lands . . . When Shuriha-ilu (dies), Shennima shall become the heir. Furthermore, Kelim-ninu has been given in marriage to Shennima. If Kelim-ninu bears (children), Shennima shall not take another wife; but if Kelim-ninu does not bear, Kelim-ninu shall acquire a woman of the land of Lullu as wife for Shennima, and Kelim-ninu may not send the offspring away. Any sons that may be born to Shennima from the womb of Kelim-ninu, to (these) sons shall be given [all] the lands (and) buildings of every sort . . .

Appendix C

Bedouin Tribes Crossing Egyptian Frontier.[29]

[This papyrus document, now in the British Museum, was found in a group of letters used as models for Egyptian school boys. It appears to be a form such as a frontier official would use in reporting the crossing of the frontier by nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes in search of pasturage.]

[28] Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, p. 220.

[29] James H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1906–7), III, 273.

We have finished passing the tribes of the Shasu of Edom through the fortress of Merneptah-Hotephirma . . . in Theku,[30] to the pools of Pithom, of Merneptah-Hotephirma in Theku, in order to sustain them and their herds in the domain of Pharaoh . . . , the good sun of every land . . . I have caused them to be brought . . . other names of days when the fortress of Merneptah-Hotephirma may be passed.

Appendix D

The Expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt[31]

[The following is part of an inscription found in the tomb of Ahmose I in Upper Egypt. It is the record of the captain of a ship on the Nile who took part in the campaigns of Ahmose I (about 1570–1545 B.C.) and of Thutmose I (about 1525–1495) against the Hyksos in Egypt and in follow-up campaigns in Syria-Palestine. The captain was named Ahmose, son of Eben.]

I spent my youth in the city of El Kab, my father being an officer of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sekenenre, triumphant, Baba, son of Royenet, was his name. Then I served as an officer in his stead, in the ship "The Offering" in the time of the Lord of the Two Lands, Nebpehtire (Ahmose I), triumphant, while I was still young, not having taken a wife. . . . Then after I set up a household, I was transferred to the northern fleet, because of my valor. I followed the king on foot when he rode abroad in his chariot.

One besieged the city of Avaris;[32] I showed valor on foot before his majesty; then I was appointed to the ship "Shining-in-Memphis." One fought on the water in the canal: Pezedku of Avaris. Then I fought hand to hand; I brought away a hand.[33] It was reported to the royal herald. One gave to me the gold of valor. Then there was again fighting in this place; I again fought hand to hand there; I brought away a hand. One gave to me the gold of bravery in the second place.

One fought in this Egypt, south of this city; then I brought away a living captive, a man; I descended into the water; behold, he was brought as a seizure upon the road of this city, although I crossed with him over the water. It was announced to the royal herald. Then one presented me with gold in double measure.

[30] Eastern end of Wadi Tumilat, "Land of Goshen."
[31] Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, Sec. 7–14.
[32] Hyksos capital in eastern Delta.
[33] As a proof of killing.

One captured Avaris; I took captive there one man and three women, total four heads, his majesty gave them to me for slaves. One besieged Sharuhen[34] for six years, and his majesty took it. Then I took captive there two women and one hand. One gave me the gold of bravery, besides giving me the captives for slaves.

Now, after his majesty had slain the Asiatics, he ascended the river to Khenthennofer, to destroy the Nubian Troglodytes; his majesty made a great slaughter among them. Then I took captive there, two living men, and three hands. One presented me with gold in double measure, besides giving to me two female slaves. His majesty sailed down-stream, his heart joyous with the might of victory, for he had seized Southerners and Northerners.

Appendix E

The "Israel Stele" of Merneptah[35]

[The so-called Israel Stele is a black granite upright slab erected by Merneptah in 1219 B.C. to commemorate a victory over the Libyans. Toward the end of the inscription reference is made to various peoples of Syria and Palestine, including Israel. This is the only time that the name Israel occurs in Egyptian writing. The stele is now preserved in the Museum of Antiquities in Cairo. The last three out of six stanzas are reprinted here.]

Great rejoicing has risen in Egypt,
Jubilation has issued from the towns of To-meri;[36]
They recount the victories
Which Merneptah wrought in Tehenu:[37]
"How beloved he is, the victorious ruler!
How exalted is the king among the gods!
How fortunate he is, the master of command!
Ah, how pleasant it is to sit when one is engaged in chatter!"

One may walk freely on the road,
Without any fear in the hearts of men.
Fortresses are left to themselves;
Wells are open, accessible to messengers;
The ramparts of the encircling wall are secure in the sunlight

[34] Southwestern corner of Canaan. See Joshua 19:6.

[35] D. Winton Thomas (ed.), *Documents from Old Testament Times* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1958), pp. 196–197.

[36] Another name for Egypt.

[37] Another name for Libya.

Until their watchmen awake.
The Medjay[38] are stretched out in sleep,
The Tjukten[39] hunt in the fields as they wish. . . .

The princes lie prostrate, saying "Salaam!"
Not one lifts his head among the Nine Bows.[40]
Destruction for Tehenu! Hatti[41] pacified;
Canaan is plundered with every evil;
Ashkelon is taken; Gezer is captured;
Yanoam is made non-existent;
Israel[42] lies desolate; its seed is no more;
Hurru[43] has become a widow for To-meri;
All the lands in their entirety are at peace,
Everyone who was a nomad has been curbed by King Merneptah.

Appendix F

The Legend of Sargon of Agade[44]

Sargon, the mighty king, king of Agade[45] am I,
My mother was lowly; my father I did not know;
The brother of my father dwelt in the mountain.
My city is Azupiranu, which is situated on the bank of the Euphrates.
My lowly mother conceived me, in secret she brought me forth.
She placed me in a basket of reeds, she closed my entrance[46] with bitumen,
She cast me upon the river, which did not overflow me.
The river carried me, it brought me to Akki, the irrigator.
Akki, the irrigator, in the goodness of his heart lifted me out,
Akki, the irrigator, as his own son . . . brought me up;
Akki, the irrigator, as his gardener appointed me.
When I was a gardener the goddess Ishtar loved me,
And for four years I ruled the kingdom. . . .

[38] Tribe used as police or desert troops.
[39] Type of soldier used in western desert.
[40] An Egyptian expression for subjugated peoples.
[41] Hittites.
[42] The only reference to the name Israel in any Egyptian inscription.
[43] Land of Hurru, the Horites of the Old Testament.
[44] G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible* (7th ed.; Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union, 1937), p. 375.
[45] Or Akkad, region of Mesopotamia corresponding to northern part of later Babylonia.
[46] Door.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Who were the Hebrew patriarchs and where did they come from?
2. Distinguish between history and tradition. In what sense may tradition have "value for history"?
3. Illustrate from the Nuzi tablets the way in which archaeology has confirmed the "value for history" of the patriarchal narratives.
4. Why did Israelites settle in Egypt?
5. Who were the Hyksos and what connection may they have had with the Israelite sojourn in Egypt?
6. How and why may the expulsion of the Hyksos (see Appendix D) have affected the status of Israelites in Egypt?
7. What are some reasons for a thirteenth-century dating of the Oppression and Exodus?
8. What is the possible bearing of the Israel Stele upon the problem of the date? (See Appendix E.)
9. What is basic to the story of Moses' call?
10. What is the deeper meaning of the Covenant?
11. May we still attribute the Ten Commandments to Moses, in spite of obviously later elements in the present wording of the commandments?

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Chapter 2

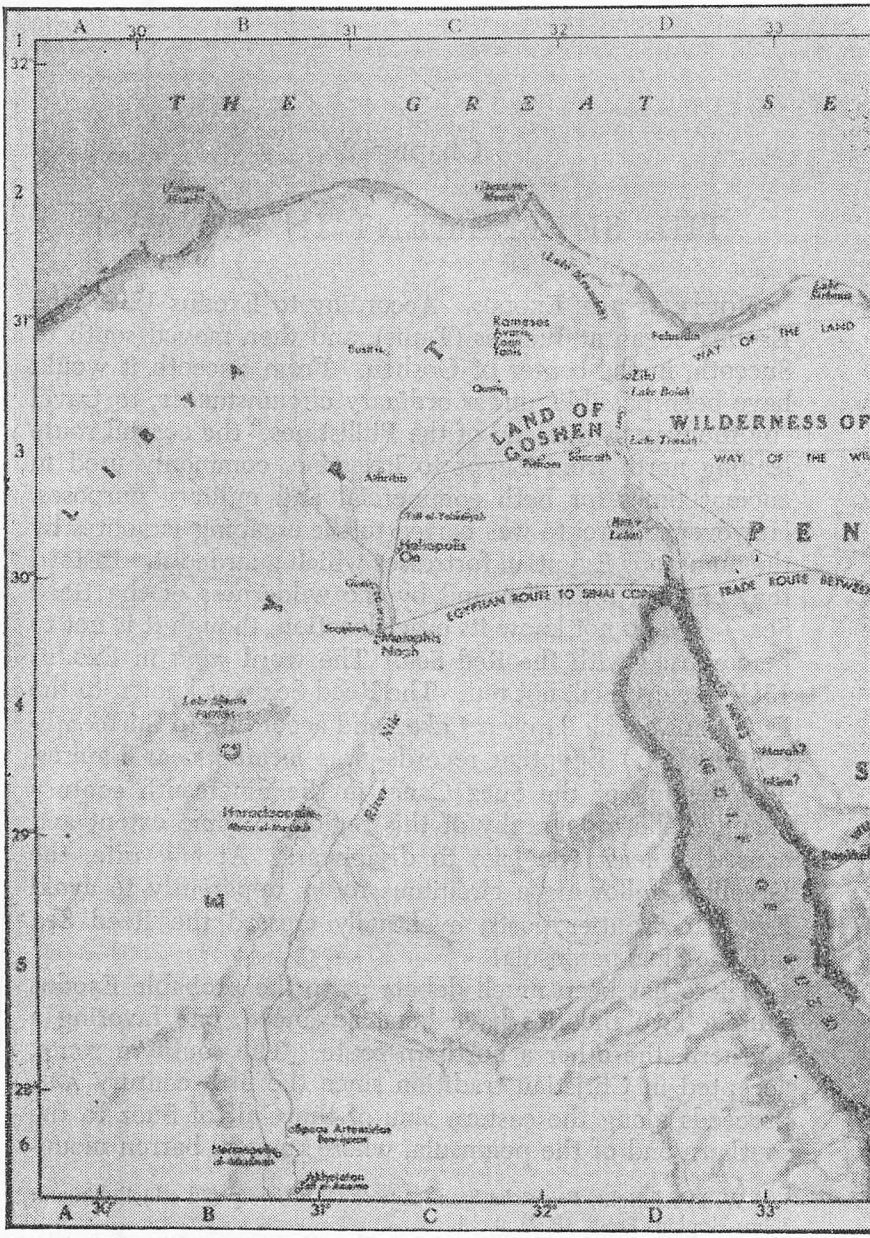
THE SETTLEMENT IN CANAAN

ROUTE OF THE EXODUS. According to Exodus 12:37, the Exodus began at Ramses (Tanis), and then moved south to Succoth, in the center of Goshen. From Succoth it would have been possible, under ordinary circumstances, to travel "by the way of the land of the Philistines," the coastal route leading north from Egypt to Palestine, commonly used in ancient times for both commercial and military purposes. However, this route was barred to the escaping Israelites by the numerous Egyptian fortresses which guarded it. Instead they chose a route "around by the wilderness of the Reed Sea." We do not know its exact location, though it is not to be confused with the Red Sea. The word *suph* in Exodus 13:18 means reed, not red. The Reed Sea was known to the Egyptians as the Papyrus Lake,[1] and according to thirteenth-century (B.C.) Egyptian records, was located near Ramses. The digging of the Suez Canal in the nineteenth century changed the topography of this region to some extent and caused at least one lake to disappear.[2] At any rate, the Israelites, following a circuitous route, apparently to avoid Egyptian frontier posts, eventually crossed the Reed Sea into the Sinai peninsula.

There has been much debate as to the probable Exodus route. Two theories have been advanced, one favoring a southern, the other a northern route. The southern route, accepted in Christian tradition since the fifth century A.D., proceeds along the eastern side of the Gulf of Suez to the southern end of the peninsula, where rugged, barren moun-

[1] W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (2d ed.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1957), p. 14.

[2] G. E. Wright and F. V. Filson, *The Westminster Historical Atlas* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956), p. 38.


A
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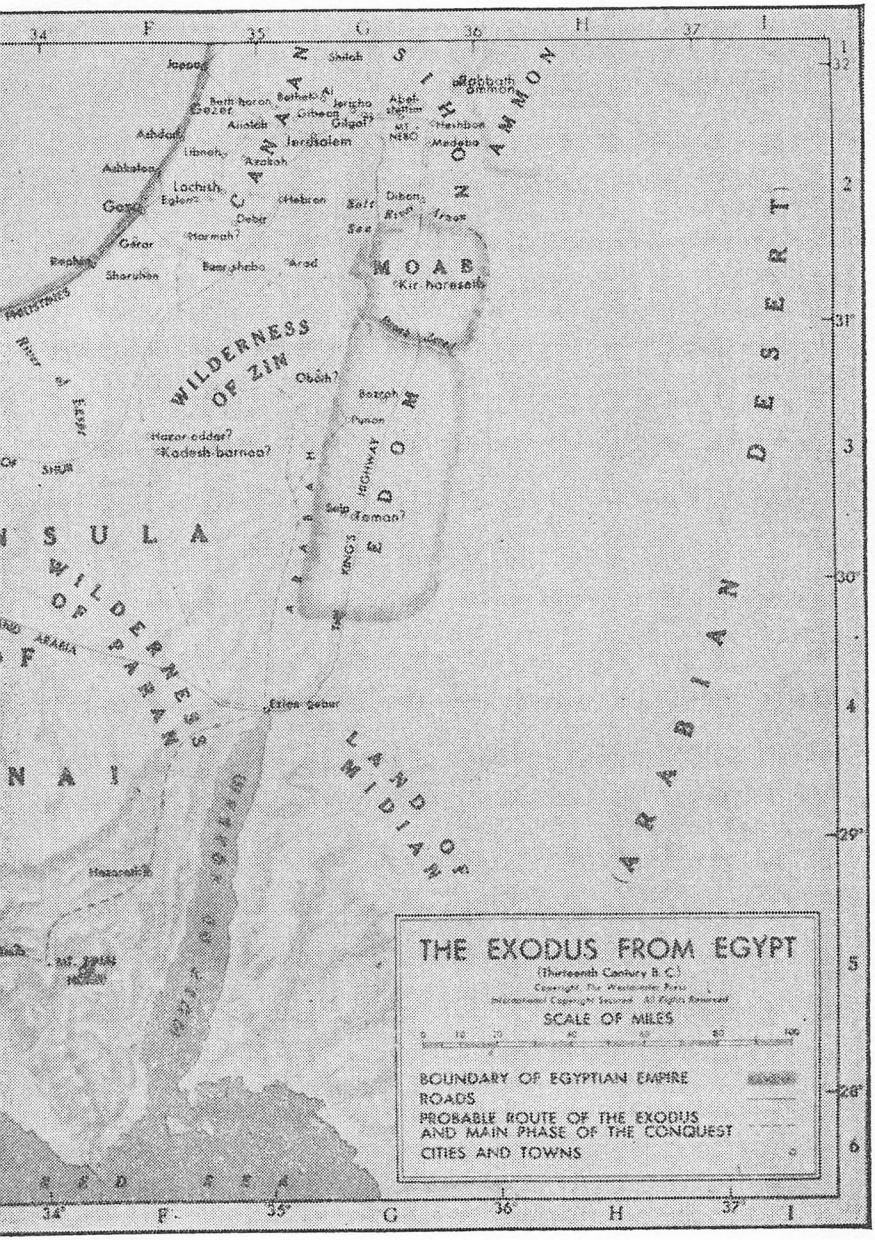
T H E G R E A T S E
LAND OF GOSHEN
WILDERNESS OF
WAY OF THE LAND
Heliopolis
On
Memphis
Noph
Nile
River
EGYPTIAN ROUTE TO SINAI
TRADE ROUTE BETWEEN
Hieracleopolis
Magna
Ramses
Avaris
Tanis
Succoth
Pithom
Asharita
Goshen
Zoan
Lake Timsah
Lake Menzaleh
Lake Burlullus
Lake Mareotis
Lake Moeris
Lake Borollos
Bubastis
Qantir
Tell el Yehudiyah
Tell el Maskhutah
Abbreviation
Abbreviation


THE EXODUS FROM EGYPT
(Thirteenth Century B.C.)
SCALE OF MILES
BOUNDARY OF EGYPTIAN EMPIRE
ROADS
PROBABLE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS AND MAIN PHASE OF THE CONQUEST
CITIES AND TOWNS
MOAB
WILDERNESS OF ZIN
WILDERNESS OF PARAN
ARABIAN DESERT
MIDIAN
EDOM
KINGS HIGHWAY
Jericho
Gilgal
Hebron
Arad
Kir-haraseth
Zoar
Dibon
Aroer
Pisgah
Nebo
Heshbon
Medeba
Ai
Bethel
Ai
Ophrah
Shiloh
Jerusalem
Gaza
Ashkelon
Ashdod
Ekron
Lachish
Eglon
Libnah
Makkedah
Beth-horon
Gezer
Joppa
Ramah
Mizpah
Gibeah
Gibeon
Abel-shittim
Mt. Nebo
Debir
Hormah?
Gerar
Beer-sheba
Sharuhen
Rephaim
Obdah?
Bozrah
Punon
Zered
Arnon
Hazor-eddar?
Kadesh-barnea?
Zalmon?
Ezion-geber
Mt. Hor
Hazeroth?
Mt. Sinai
Horeb
Gulf of Aqaba
Red Sea
Dead Sea
Jordan
Brook Zered
Brook Arnon
River of Egypt
Shur
Philistines
Arabia
Sinai
Peninsula

tains rise to a height of eight thousand feet. One of the peaks in this region is called by its Arabic name, "Jebel Musa" (Mountain of Moses), and is identified in tradition with the mountain of revelation.[3]

One of the reasons advanced in support of the southern theory of the route of the Exodus is the presence of Midianites at Sinai in the narrative of Exodus 18. One clan of Midianites was called Kenites (cf. Num. 10:29 and Judg. 4:11), a word which means "belonging to the coppersmiths." It is known that extensive copper mining was done in the mountainous region of the lower Sinai peninsula. However, copper ores are known to have existed even more abundantly in Midian, and also in Edom and that part of the Negeb west and south of Edom, so that the connection of the Midianites with copper mining proves little about the true location of Mount Sinai and the route of the Exodus. As a matter of fact, the Egyptians regularly sent expeditions to the copper and turquoise mines of the Sinai peninsula, and it scarcely seems possible that Moses would have led his followers along a potentially dangerous route. In short, the grandeur of Jebel Musa and its surroundings is such that it would be an appropriate location for the sacred mountain, but, as a recent historian has put it, "Jebel Musa is the sort of place where Sinai *ought* to be, not necessarily where it actually was."[4]

The more probable theory is the so-called northern route, following ancient caravan routes across the middle of the Sinai peninsula and leading to the springs at Kadesh-barnea, about fifty miles south of Beersheba. In this case the sacred mountain where God revealed himself to Moses and where the Covenant between Yahweh and his people was made

[3] To Jebel Musa and the monastery nestled at its base pilgrims have come for centuries—medieval pilgrims like those described in the recently published medieval travelogue, *Once to Sinai,* but also modern pilgrims including scholars who in recent years have made a careful study of the manuscripts in the monastery library and reproduced many of them on microfilm for purposes of scholarly study. It was in this library that the famous Codex Sinaiticus, a manuscript containing the entire Bible in Greek, was discovered by the German scholar Tischendorf in 1859.

[4] N. K. Gottwald, *A Light to the Nations* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1959), p. 124.

would be located in the wilderness of Paran, northwest of the head of the Gulf of Aqabah and southwest of Edom, apparently within easy striking distance of Kadesh-barnea, the desert center of the Israelites in this period. Numerous reasons may be given for this choice of location.[5] In Numbers 10:12 "wilderness of Sinai" and "wilderness of Paran" are used synonymously. In Deuteronomy 33:2, part of the ancient folksong, "The Blessing of Moses," Sinai, Seir, and Mount Paran are all used as synonymous terms. Likewise, in the Song of Deborah, Seir is identified with the region of Edom and equated with Sinai (5:4). Much other evidence of this type could be given. Particular interest attaches to the thrice-repeated request of Moses in Exodus (3:18; 5:3; and 8:27) for permission from Pharaoh to take the Israelites on a three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to Yahweh. It was about a three days' journey from Goshen to Kadesh-barnea by this northern route.

Oasis in the Desert. The Exodus should not be thought of as an orderly procession of a well-organized group leaving Egypt and proceeding directly to the conquest of Canaan. It was rather a return to the desert and the desert ways of life. Not, to be sure, the true desert, but the desert fringes of the settled land, since as Albright has pointed out, the Israelites in this period, like their earlier patriarchal ancestors, were ass-nomads rather than camel-nomads, restricted in their movements by necessary proximity to water holes.

The immediate purpose of Moses was to revisit the sacred mountain where he had experienced his prophetic call and to bind his followers in a covenant with Yahweh, the God who had revealed himself there. Once there the Israelites remained for a generation. The biblical expression about forty years' wandering in the wilderness is misleading in one sense but true in another. The activities of the Israelites were confined to a relatively small area, since their movements were restricted rather closely to the springs and pasturage between the Negeb (literally, south of Palestine) and

[5] See J. Coert Rylaarsdam in *The Interpreter's Bible,* Vol. I (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1951), p. 837.

Trans-Jordan, but it did take a full generation of approximately forty years before Moses could develop among his followers the disciplined unity which they would find necessary if they were ever to make a place for themselves in settled country.

The Book of Numbers vividly describes the difficulties in making one out of the many who left Egypt together. What Exodus 12:38 calls "a mixed multitude," Numbers 11:4 calls "a rabble." Those who left Egypt were of mixed origin. After they left Egypt, they joined a group of desert dwellers, including the Midianites or Kenites to whom Moses' father-in-law, Jethro, belonged (Num. 10:29–32). Added elements included Calebites (Num. 13:30; 14:6), Simeon (Josh. 19:1–9), and possibly Reuben, Gad, and Machir (Num. 32:1–5, 34–38), who seem to have been closely related to the Kenites (Judg. 1:16). These and no doubt others constituted the assorted miscellany of peoples that it was Moses' task to mould into a workable unity. To do this might well have taken a generation, which is exactly what the biblical tradition claims for the length of the desert sojourn.

Kadesh-barnea, with its abundant springs, became the center of Israelite desert life, as the numerous references to Kadesh in the Book of Numbers suggest (13:26; 20:1–14; 27:14; 33:36). (The name is still preserved in its Arabic form in the spring Ain Qedeis found today on this ancient site.) Some memories of life in this desert society are still preserved in the Bible. The beautiful "Song of the Well" in Numbers 21:17, 18 may well have been composed for the dedication of a well at Kadesh or in the immediate vicinity where the sources of water were so abundant.

> Spring up, O well—Sing to it!—
> The well which the princes dug,
> Which the nobles of the people delved,
> With the scepter and with their staves.

Another authentic reminiscence concerns the Tent of Meeting, or Tabernacle, a portable shrine where Yahweh might be consulted on matters both religious and political (Exod.

33:7–11; Num. 11:16–17). Inside the Tent of Meeting was housed the Ark of the Covenant, a wooden chest within which are believed to have been kept two tablets of stone on which the Ten Commandments were written. The Ark represented for the Israelites the presence of Yahweh among them. When migrating or when entering into battle, they carried the Ark before them, confident of a successful outcome. One of the oldest passages in the Bible is the March Song in Numbers 10:35–36 in which this conviction is vividly portrayed:

> And whenever the ark set out, Moses said, "Arise, O Lord, and let thy enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee flee before thee." And when it rested, he said, "Return, O Lord, to the ten thousand thousands of Israel."

Here are the beginnings of a significant faith in God's spiritual presence among men.

First Impressions of Canaan. In its closing chapter the Book of Deuteronomy pictures Moses as climbing Mount Nebo and viewing the land which he himself was not to enter. The view from that point is indeed impressive. From Nebo one may scan the whole length of Palestine, looking from the Dead Sea northward through the valley of the Jordan. Turning west one can today see the towers on the eastern ridge opposite Jerusalem and then, looking northward, see Gerizim, Ebal, and Gilboa.

The original impression made upon the Israelites by the land of Canaan is described in the report of the spies sent out to explore the land (Num. 13:1–14:45). After having reconnoitered at least the southern and central portions of the land, the spies brought back a glowing report of Canaan as a land flowing with milk and honey. Any portion of the Fertile Crescent would no doubt have seemed attractive to visitors from the less hospitable border lands.

The spies also reported that Canaan was occupied by vigorous peoples living in strongly fortified cities. They found Amalekites living in the Negeb, Hittites, Jebusites, and Amorites living in the hill country, and Canaanites living

both along the sea and by the banks of the Jordan. The announcement that Canaanite Palestine contained great walled cities has been convincingly supported by the discoveries of archaeologists in recent excavations of such ancient cities as Jericho, Shechem, Dothan, and Hazor. Unfortunately excavations at Old Testament Jericho by the British School of Archaeology have revealed no traces of Late Bronze Age (1500–1200 B.C.) walls of Jericho, Joshua's Jericho. The defenses of Jericho of the Middle Bronze period (2000–1500 B.C.), the age of Abraham, were found, however, and aroused great interest:

> . . . they incorporate an entirely new principle of defence. The portion of these defences which had previously been recognized consisted of a massive stone revetment, which appeared to constitute the maximum extension of the *tell*. The present excavations have shown that this revetment was only a part of a complex system . . . The total defensive system . . . consisted of a stone revetment about 3.50 m. high, a plastered slope at an angle of 35′ rising to a height of 11 m. above the top of the revetment, and on its crest a wall, standing back, in horizontal distance 20.75 m. from the revetment at the base. The result must have been a most imposing defence, somewhat resembling from outside the defences of a great medieval castle . . . We thus have a great bank rising up from the outside of the town, with a revetment wall at the foot, and crowned by the town wall at its summit.[6]

At Shechem a great fortified gate was discovered dating from the period 1650–1100 B.C. joined to what is generally referred to as "the great cyclopean wall" because of the huge limestone blocks of which it was made.

> This wall is of the leaning or sloping type . . . which was designed not to be free-standing like the ordinary city wall of old time, but to lean against the slope of the mound so that its inner face would never be seen. When complete, it would do no good for an attacker to try to sap or dig through it. . . . its base was some 13 feet (10 m.) high. The stones along its top are quite level, so that we can presume it once had a brick top with parapets for fighting, like a similar wall at Jericho.[7]

[6] Kathleen Kenyon, *Digging Up Jericho* (London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1957), pp. 214 ff.

[7] G. Ernest Wright, in symposium on "Shechem: Navel of the Land," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, XX, No. 1 (Feb., 1957), p. 22.

An impressive city gate of the Late Bronze Age was recently uncovered at Hazor, the capital of north Canaan (northern Galilee today) in the period of Joshua.

> It turned out to be one of the most formidable gate structures ever found in this country. . . . This Bronze Age gate (was built of) ashlar stones, some of them six feet long. . . . The gate passage with its floor of fine cobbles was flanked on each side by three pairs of pilasters, the two extreme ones forming the jambs of the outer and inner entrances respectively. The middle ones served to support the ceiling. On either side of the entire gate structure was a two-roomed tower. This gate must have been destroyed in a violent conflagration, though the exterior walls still stand to a height of nine feet. Traces of the burnt bricks of its inner walls and the ashes of the burnt beams still cover the floors in thick heaps.[8]

Canaanite Palestine in the period which we are considering was a province of the Egyptian Empire. With the exception of Gaza and Joppa, which were Egyptian administrative centers, each Canaanite city and its surrounding villages constituted an independent, feudal city-state paying tribute to Egypt through an Egyptian inspector. The local rulers were permitted to have their own armed forces and to wage war against one another as long as such internal strife did not interfere with the collection of taxes for Egypt.

THE CULTURE OF CANAAN. The beginnings of Canaanite culture go back to the hoary past, as illustrated by the recent British excavations at Old Testament Jericho which show that a village existed on this site as early as 8000 B.C. By the time of the coming of the Israelites under Joshua, Canaanite Palestine had achieved a high level of material civilization to which many different racial and cultural groups had contributed. Amorites, Hittites, Hurrians (the biblical Horites), Hyksos, Arameans, and many others—not to mention the constant incursion of armies and trading caravans across this bridge of nations—all contributed to the development of the way of life which for convenience we shall call Canaanite.

The Canaanites lived in permanent houses, and cultivated the vine, the olive, and the fig tree. They had established

[8] Yigael Yadin, "The Fourth Season of Excavation at Hazor," *The Biblical Archaeologist,* XXII, No. 1 (Feb., 1959), pp. 8 f.

such a reputation as merchants that in Proverbs 31:24 the term "Canaanite" is synonymous with "trader." An alphabet was used by the Canaanites as early as 1800–1600 B.C. Ceramic arts, music and musical instruments, and architecture reached a high stage of development in Canaanite culture. Their royal palaces, that at Megiddo, for example, in the period just before the arrival of the Israelites were adorned with art treasures in ivory, gold, and alabaster.

The excavations at Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit), located on the Syrian coast opposite the finger of Cyprus, have been a veritable mine of information about ancient Canaanite culture. Unknown to modern historians until the discoveries of the French archaeologist C. F. A. Schaeffer in 1929 and subsequent years, Ugarit had reached a high stage of civilization by the fourth millennium B.C. and apparently achieved its greatest prosperity in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. Among the more important discoveries found were several hundred clay tablets in what may have been a royal temple library.

The cuneiform inscriptions in a hitherto unknown alphabet have now been deciphered and found to contain descriptions of sacrificial ritual, mythological epics, and religious poems. These tablets thus provide much first-hand information about the religious life of the ancient Canaanite civilization in which Ugarit shared. Striking parallels as well as differences have been observed between the religious life of the Canaanites and the ancient Hebrews. The citizens of Ugarit worshiped a pantheon of which the highest God was El, whose consort was Ashirah, known in the Bible as Asherah. The most active deity of the pantheon was Baal, whose consort was called Baalat. The direct relationship of Baal-worship to the fertility cult may be seen in one of the epics of Ugarit in which Baal is slain and carried by monsters to the land of Death (Mot).[9] Anath, Baal's sister, kills Death in a great battle, after which the following ritual is performed.

[9] See Appendix A.

In the fire she burned him, in the mill she ground him,
In the field she sowed him,
In order that the birds might eat their portion, in order that they might destroy the seed.[10]

Here Baal is clearly identified as the grain and the purpose of the ritual is not to slay Death or Mot, but to revive Baal by a process of sympathetic magic.

Canaanite religion was an elaborate system of nature-worship whose ultimate value was fertility *in nature* and *among humans,* themselves so close to and so dependent upon nature. The Ras Shamra finds have revealed a Canaanite mythology far richer than was ever thought to exist. While the veneration of the life principle lends itself to emotional and moral excesses when misinterpreted, it is capable of inspiring a high idealism. It has been suggested that the concept of dying in order to give life, central to the Epic of Baal as in all nature religions, gives expression in a primitive way to the spiritual ideal of vicarious suffering. There is a fine line, however, which separates religion from magic, when instead of serving the deity and seeking his will, one seeks to use God (or gods) for selfish purposes. Canaanite religion in this period operated essentially along the lines of sympathetic magic, intended to guarantee the fruitfulness of nature for a primarily agricultural community.

Canaanite religion was decadent in this period, and the practice of religious prostitution that accompanied it was morally debilitating, though we must remember that Canaanite faith was on the whole no better and no worse than the kind of religion practiced in all western Asia. Indeed, ethics was no more characteristic of the Greek gods and goddesses than of those of Canaan. The great difference between Canaanite religion and Hebrew faith was the line of great ethical teachers who were to appear in Israel. On the other hand, the type of ritual religion we are discussing is very similar, as a matter of fact, to the kind of religion accepted by most Israelites as late as Amos, but condemned by him and his successors in the prophetic tradition.

[10] Quoted From W. F. Albright, *op. cit.,* p. 232.

ISRAELITES IN CANAAN. The main source of information about the settlement of Israelites in Canaan is the Book of Joshua. There are in addition some ancient poems older than the prose material in which they are now imbedded, such as the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5), the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49:2–27), and the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33), which reflect conditions in Palestine shortly after the Israelite invasion. A valuable supplement to the biblical material is a large number of letters written to the Egyptian pharaohs Amenophis III and IV in the fourteenth century B.C., found in the ruins of the royal library at Amarna, halfway up the Nile, and for this reason known as the Tell El-Amarna letters. These clay tablets, with their cuneiform writing, refer to Apiru as laying the land waste. In one of these letters a Canaanite prince of Jerusalem seeks Egyptian aid against the Apiru, specifically asking for archers to help defend the city.[11] This and similar letters from other Canaanite princes furnish important information about the condition of Canaan in the period of Israelite infiltration. The letters reveal the Achilles heel of Canaanite defense, the lack of unity and a unified defense. Each city-state was governed by its own petty king and each one was distrustful of every other. Since Egyptian power had waned and its protection of these satellites had weakened, the land lay open to attack from determined invaders.

Just as the Israelites who left Egypt joined in the Sinai desert with other tribes which had never been in Egypt at all, so it is possible that the Israelites who entered Palestine under Joshua in the thirteenth century may have joined forces in Palestine with Hebrews who had first settled in the hill country in late patriarchal times.[12] Joshua says very little, except for a list of conquered towns in chapter 12, about the conquest of north-central Palestine. Other biblical passages, however, which may rest upon early tradition, refer to the conquest of central Palestine in the patriarchal period (Gen. 34; 48:22; I Chron. 7:20 ff.). The Amarna letters do not cite

[11] See Appendix B.
[12] See W. F. Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

the towns of this portion of Palestine as being or having been under Egyptian control. It may then be the case that the references in the Amarna letters to difficulties raised for the Canaanite city-states by Apiru refer to a pre-Israelite invasion of Palestine by tribes which later merged with the Joshua-led group to constitute the later Israel.

The traditional view of the conquest of Canaan is that the Israelites under the leadership of Joshua made a victorious sweep of the entire land. This indeed is the impression given by chapters 10–11 of the Book of Joshua. A quite different picture, however, is given in Joshua 15–19 and Judges 1, where the conquest proceeds much more slowly and with uneven success, not being completed until well after the death of Joshua and his generation. The explanation of this confusion about the character of the conquest of Canaan appears to be that the Book of Joshua combines

> miscellaneous fragments of varying dates and of varying reliability . . . There was a campaign by Joshua which achieved an amazing success in attacking certain key Canaanite royal cities but . . . there was also a long struggle for possession which continued after Joshua's death.[13]

In some cases the Israelites exterminated their enemies; in other cases it was only much later that they succeeded in conquering the Canaanite cities and even then the Canaanites remained as an element in the population; in still other cases Israelites settled down side by side with the Canaanites in the land.

ISRAELITE MEETS CANAANITE. Under these conditions there was inevitably borrowing from Canaanite culture and religion by the Israelite settlers. This was inevitable since the Israelites were immigrants who brought with them a lower level of material culture than that which had previously existed in Canaanite Palestine. The attitudes of invading Israelites to the settled culture of Canaanite Palestine varied, however. There were some like the Rechabites and Nazirites whose sympathies remained with the nomadic tradition. As

[13] G. E. Wright, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, V (1946), 105–114.

late as the time of Jeremiah the Rechabites continued to live in tents as a symbol of their opposition to Canaanite ways and of their loyalty to the desert tradition which had nourished Hebrew life (Jer. 35:2–11). The majority of Israelites, no doubt, went much farther in conforming to the ways of the land in which they had settled. In many parts of the land they lived in settlements side by side with Canaanite communities. In time intermarriage took place and the two ways of life gradually merged (Judg. 3:5, 6). Israelites built houses after Canaanite models. They learned to cultivate the land and to grow the vine, the olive, and the fig. They borrowed the dialects of the Canaanites. The Bible speaks of Hebrew as "the language of Canaan" (Isa. 19:18). It is interesting to observe, however, that Israelites did not at this time nor until much later take up the art of trading. The name "Canaanite," as has already been observed, is in the Bible the word for "trader."

The impact of Canaanite upon Israelite ways of life took place on the religious level as well. The Israelites did not accept all they found in Canaanite religious life, such as the extremes of sensuality found in Canaanite mythology and ritual. But they did adopt many of the forms of Canaanite religion under the guise of Yahweh-worship. This tendency is well illustrated in the story of Gideon (Judg. 6). Gideon was a Hebrew farmer (6:19) who made an offering to Yahweh of a kid and unleavened cakes, the latter being a typical Canaanite offering. Next Gideon made an altar to Yahweh, something wholly foreign to desert custom, and called it "Yahweh-is-Peace" (Judg. 6:24). The third step taken by Gideon was to destroy a Canaanite altar and the Asherah or wooden pole beside it, and to build on the same spot an altar to Yahweh (Judg. 6:26). This story about Gideon is very instructive for the way in which it describes the interaction between Hebrew and Canaanite religious life. Israel, settling down to agricultural life in Canaan, continued to worship Yahweh, but in a manner which included many previously Canaanite ways of thought and practice.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

Death and Revival of Baal[14]

[Among the cuneiform tablets found at ancient Ugarit is a cycle in which the rain and fertility god, Baal, plays a leading part. The epic is written in praise of Baal, for whom a great temple is built, and who is slain and taken to the land of Mot, god of death. With the death of Baal, all life on earth is in peril. Anat in revenge finds and kills Mot, grinds and sows his body in the field, after which Baal is reborn.]

"Dead is Baal the Mighty,
Perished is the Prince, Lord of the Earth."
Then the Kindly El,[15] the Merciful,
Comes down from his throne; he leaps to the footstool;
And from the footstool he leaps to the ground.
He lets down his turban in grief;
On his head is the dust in which he wallows;[16]
He tears asunder the knot of his girdle;
He makes the mountain re-echo with his lamentation,
And his clamour to resound in the forest.
Cheeks and chin he rends,
His upper arm he scores,
His chest as a garden-plot,
Even as a valley-bottom his back he lacerates.

. . . . .

Anat too goes and ranges
Every mountain to the heart of the earth,
Every hill to the midst of the fields.[17]
She comes to the pleasant land of pasture,
The fair field of the fat grazings;

[14] D. Winton Thomas (ed.), *Documents from Old Testament Times* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1958), pp. 130–31.

[15] One of the titles of El, head of Canaanite pantheon. Cf. "Gracious and Merciful" applied to God in Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2; Pss. 91:4 and 112:4.

[16] Mourning symbol.

[17] The search for the dead god is a part of the fertility cult.

She comes upon Baal fallen to the ground.
She seizes Death, the Son of El;[18]
With a blade she cleaves him;
With a shovel she winnows him;
With fire she parches him;
With a millstone she grinds him;
In the field she sows him;
His remains the birds eat,
The wild creatures consume his portions;
Remains from remains are scattered.

In a dream of El, the Kindly, the Merciful,
In a vision of the Creator of Created Things,
The heavens rain oil,
The wadis run with honey.[19]
El, the Kindly, the Merciful rejoices,
His feet on the footstool he sets,
He relaxes reserve and laughs.
He raises his voice and cries:
"I shall sit and take my ease,
And the soul shall repose in my breast,
For Baal the Mighty is alive,
For the Prince, Lord of the earth, exists."

Appendix B

A Letter from Ebed-Hepa, Prince of Jerusalem[20]

[This is one of the Tell El-Amarna letters, a collection of 377 clay tablets inscribed in cuneiform found in the ruins of the capital city of Amenophis IV, or Akhnaton, on the Nile in middle Egypt. The letters, which were mainly written by scribes for petty princes of Palestine, Syria, and Phoenicia, reflect a period of weakening Egyptian control of previously subjugated territory. Some of

[18] Anat is the most active goddess in the Ras Shamra pantheon.

[19] With "The wadis run with honey," cf. similar expressions in Job 20:17; Ezek. 32:14; Amos 9:13; Joel 3: 18.

[20] G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible* (7th ed.; Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union, 1937), p. 443.

them, like this letter from the prince of Jerusalem, refer specifically to Habiru (Apiru) marauders who appear to be related to the Hebrews.]

To the king, my lord, speak, saying, Ebed-Hepa, thy servant—at the feet of my lord, the king, seven times and seven times I prostrate myself. What have I done to the king, my lord? They slander and misrepresent me before the king, my lord, [saying]: Ebed-Hepa is disloyal to the king, his lord. Behold I—neither my father nor my mother set me in this place; the arm of the mighty king caused me to enter into the house of my father. Why should I commit rebellion against the king, my lord? As long as the king, my lord lives I will say unto the governor of the king, my lord: "Why dost thou love the Habiri and hate the prefects?" But thus he misrepresents me before the king, my lord. Now I say, "Lost are the lands of the king, my lord." So he misrepresents me to the king, my lord. But let the king, my lord, know (that) after the king, my lord, set guards, Ienhamu[21] took them all [. . .] Egypt [. . .] of the king, my lord; [there are no] guards there. Then may the king care for his land! May the king care for his land! Separated are all the lands from the king. Ilimilku[22] has destroyed all the country of the king; so may the king, my lord, care for his land! I say: "I will enter the presence of the king, my lord, and I will behold the eye of the king, my lord," but the enemy is more mighty than I, and I am not able to enter into the presence of the king, my lord. So may it seem right to the king [. . .] may he send guards, and I will enter in and will behold the eyes of the king, my lord! And so long as the king, my lord, lives, so long as the governors are withdrawn, I will say: "Perished are the lands of the king." Thou dost not hearken to me! All the prefects have perished; there is left no prefect to the king, my lord! May the king turn his face toward mercenaries, so that there may come forth mercenaries of the king, my lord.[23] There are no lands left to the king, my lord. The Habiri plunder all the countries of the king. If there are mercenaries in this year, then there will be left countries of the king, my lord. If there are no mercenaries, the countries of the king will be lost. Unto the scribe of the king, my lord, saying: "Ebed-Hepa, thy servant. Take beautiful words to the king, my lord! Lost are all the lands of the king, my lord."

[21] Ienhamu (Yanhamu) was an Egyptian official, probably of Canaanite birth, who appears to have been Egyptian governor of Palestine during early part of Akhnaton's reign.

[22] It is not clear whether Ilimilku (Elimelech) was a leader of the Habiru or one of the native princes.

[23] Formerly well-maintained garrisons have been either reduced in numbers or entirely withdrawn, and the land rendered defenseless to invaders.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. What factors are involved in determining the probable route of the Exodus?
2. What was accomplished during the desert sojourn?
3. Was Canaan an empty land at the time of the coming of the Israelites? Explain.
4. What are some evidences of a high degree of cultural achievement in Canaanite Palestine in this period?
5. What light is thrown upon Canaanite religious life by the recently discovered Ras Shamra tablets?
6. What was the political status of the Canaanite city-states as illustrated in the Tell El-Amarna tablets?
7. How may one reconcile the apparent contradiction in the accounts of the settlement in Palestine given by the Books of Joshua and Judges?
8. What did the Israelites learn from the Canaanites, materially and religiously?
9. In the meantime, what was happening to the religion of Yaweh?

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

ANDERSON, B. W. *Understanding the Old Testament.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957. Chap. iii contains a good discussion of the Amarna Age and an evaluation of the merits of the "sudden" versus the "gradual" theories of the Israelite conquest of Canaan. Chap. iv offers a detailed discussion of the struggle between faith and culture which followed the settlement of Israelites in Canaan.

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BRIGHT, JOHN. *A History of Israel.* Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959. Chap. iv discusses the amphictyony or early tribal league of Israelites in Canaan which preceded monarchy.

GOTTWALD, N. K. *A Light to the Nations. An Introduction to the Old Testament.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1959. Chap. vi begins with an excellent description of Canaanite culture and religion prior to the coming of the Israelites, offers a more detailed reconstruction of the nature of the settlement of Israelites in Canaan, and includes a useful six-page literary and religious analysis of the Song of Deborah.

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THOMAS, D. WINTON (ed.). *Documents from Old Testament Times.* New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1958. Pp. 118–133 contain texts from Ras Shamra and a half-tone plate of the tablet on which is inscribed the Legend of King Keret. More detailed notes than in Pritchard.

WRIGHT, G. E. and F. V. FILSON. *The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible.* Philadelphia.: The Westminster Press, 1956. Pp. 33–36 offer useful information about the Land of Canaan before the Israelite Conquest.

Chapter 3

RELIGION AND THE RISE OF NATIONALISM

THE INTERNATIONAL BACKGROUND. The rise of an independent Hebrew kingdom about 1000 B.C. coincided with, and was made possible by, favorable political conditions in the Fertile Crescent. For almost two and a half centuries after 1100 B.C., a power vacuum existed in this area, occasioned by the relative quiescence of the empires of the Nile and Tigris-Euphrates valleys. During this period of little interference from the great powers it was possible for the developing Hebrew monarchy to expand into the empire of David and Solomon. Even after the weakening of Hebrew political life caused by the division of the kingdom in 922 B.C., there were periods when the boundaries of the two kingdoms combined approximated those achieved by David. One such period of political expansion took place in Israel, the northern kingdom, under the rule of Omri (876–869 B.C.). About a century later under Jeroboam II (786–746) Israel again enjoyed a period of outward prosperity with boundaries which, according to Amos 6:14, extended "from the entrance of Hamath to the Brook of the Arabah," i.e., the southern end of the Dead Sea. During this same period of relative quiet on the international front, other small states of the Middle East, like Israel and Judah, waxed and waned, having to compete only with other minor nations. This was the golden age of small nations in this part of the world.

About the middle of the ninth century B.C., the situation changed. Jeroboam II was the last king of Israel to enjoy a long reign free from Assyrian aggression. When Assyrian power declined, Babylonian domination took its place. The period of small nations was succeeded by an age of imperial-

istic expansion. By the end of the eighth century, Israel and Judah had had to reckon with Assyrian power more than once. Shalmaneser III (859–824) initiated the westward thrust of Assyria with a campaign that culminated in the Battle of Qarqar in 853 B.C., in which Israel under Ahab was one of a dozen small nations temporarily allied against Assyria.[1] The famous Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser records that Jehu, ruler of Israel from 842–815 B.C., paid tribute to Shalmaneser in 841 B.C.[2] In 805 B.C. Adadnirari III renewed the Assyrian invasion of the Near East, subduing and exacting tribute from Israel, Philistia, Moab, Edom, Phoenicia, and Aram, but not Judah. Then for a time the Assyrians withdrew, which permitted the small countries to recover their strength. During this interlude Jeroboam II, already mentioned, ruled Israel with all the outward marks of peace and prosperity. Yet in the background there lurked always the threat of Assyrian expansion.

Tiglath Pileser III (745–727 B.C.) introduced the next period of Assyrian aggression. It was he also who introduced the cruel policy of transplanting the populations of conquered countries as a method of forestalling rebellion. Menahem of Israel is reported in II Kings 15:19 to have paid tribute to Tiglath Pileser III about 738 B.C. Bribed by Ahaz of Judah, who was seeking aid against the kings of Israel and Syria, Tiglath Pileser III again invaded Palestine about 733–732 B.C. The ineffectual struggle of the northern kingdom of Israel to survive ended in 721 B.C., after a three years' siege of Samaria, although it was a different emperor, Sargon, who administered the death blow.

THE PERIOD OF THE JUDGES. It was a full two centuries after the arrival of Israelites under Joshua in Palestine that the beginning of a Hebrew kingdom was made with the choice of Saul as king. This part of Hebrew history is known as the Period of the Judges (*c.* 1200–1020 B.C.).

The so-called Judges were much more than mere judicial functionaries. They were, in fact, tribal leaders, frequently

[1] See Appendix A.
[2] See Appendix B.

military heroes, who were felt by the people to be religiously inspired or charismatic persons. And the demand for loyalty to Yahweh, the God of the Covenant, was the one sure means these tribal leaders had of overcoming local jealousies and obtaining unified action. The Yahweh faith thus became a unifying force in the early development of Hebrew nationalism. It was in the name of Yahweh that Deborah and Barak summoned the Israelite tribes to battle against Sisera and the Canaanites, and it was to Yahweh that the victory was likewise ascribed: "So perish all thine enemies, O Lord! But thy friends be like the sun as he rises in his might" (Judg. 5:31). It is true that sometimes even in the presence of such dynamic leadership as that of Deborah and in the face of such an emergency as that created by Canaanite oppression, there were some tribes which remained indifferent to the danger of their more closely involved kinsmen (Judg. 5:15b–17). But unity whenever and to whatever degree it was achieved came as a result of this higher loyalty to Yahweh.

The pressure of external forces hastened the process of unification. The Canaanites were not the only enemies of the Israelites in the period of the Judges. There were also Midianites, Amalekites, the "children of the East," the Ammonites, and others who attacked the Israelites and who were more or less successfully repelled under the leadership of Gideon, Abimelech, Jephthah, and other "judges."

A much more serious challenge came from the Philistines, originally "sea-peoples," possibly Aegean in origin. They had appeared on the eastern Mediterranean scene as invaders from the north sweeping down the coast as far as Egypt. Thrown back in their attempted invasion of Egypt, they reversed their course, conquered and settled the Canaanite plains in the early twelfth century B.C., and for several decades offered a serious threat to the Israelites in the hill country. It was not until the time of David that their control of the great plain of Esdraelon was broken. One reason for the supremacy of the Philistines over the Hebrews for so many years was their knowledge of the use of iron and their successful monopoly of the manufacture of iron utensils

and weapons.[3] The force of the impact made by the Philistines upon the history of Palestine may be judged from the fact that the land still bears their name.

Probably the most important consequence of the Philistine domination was the weakening of the tribal organization of the Hebrews. The Philistine invasion that resulted in the loss of the Ark (I Sam. 4:10–11) and the destruction of the shrine at Shiloh was an almost disastrous blow. The latter event has been determined by archaeological investigation although it is not specifically reported in the Bible. Shiloh had been the center of the league of Israelite tribes and the result of this disaster was to weaken the tribal bonds of unity. Yet this very loosening of tribal bonds contributed to the development of nationalism.

SAMUEL AND THE "SONS OF THE PROPHETS." The first effective leader of resistance to the Philistines was Samuel, described in the Bible as the last of the Judges (I Sam. 7:15), prophet (II Chron. 35:18), seer (I Sam. 9:6), and priest (I Sam. 2:18, 35; 7:9 ff.). According to I Samuel 7:15–17, Samuel made Ramah his home and in his capacity as judge regularly visited a circuit including Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah. It was, no doubt, the Philistine danger which led Samuel to think that the old tribal organization was no longer adequate and which caused him to anoint Saul as king. The so-called earlier source in I Samuel (9:1–10:16) makes passing reference to thirty guests who were present at a banquet Samuel arranged for Saul (I Sam. 9:22). These were no doubt important tribal leaders like those described in I Samuel 8:4, 5 as coming to Samuel of their own volition and demanding a king. Whichever source is followed, it is clear that the need of a more closely knit political organization was recognized to meet the pressure levied by the Philistines upon the Israelites in the hill country.

Samuel's leadership combined religion and patriotism. In this he had the help of "sons of the prophets," ecstatic groups much like the Muslim dervishes of later times. These bands made their headquarters at Ramah, the home of Samuel (I Sam. 19:20–23). When first mentioned (I Sam.

[3] See I Sam. 13:19–21.

10:5–13) they are described as coming down from a high place preceded by musicians whose music was used to induce the trance state. In both of these passages Samuel and Saul are associated with "sons of the prophets," although Saul's affinity with the movement seems to have occasioned surprise: "Is Saul also among the prophets?" (I Sam. 10:11). Thus it appears that Samuel seized upon this early prophetic movement and channeled it into support of the Yahweh faith and the unification of the national life.

SAUL, A CHARISMATIC KING. Saul does not fare very well at the hands of the writers of I Samuel, perhaps because they were admirers of David. Saul was, nevertheless, in the true line of charismatic leadership. He did not seek to rule, but when called upon to lead a rescue party to relieve Jabesh-gilead (I Sam. 11), he did not shirk his duty. Relations with the Philistines being what they were, Saul as king had to devote much of his time and energy to a kind of "holding action." Nevertheless, he deserves more credit than is usually given him. He drove the Philistines out of the hill country (I Sam. 13, 14). He also led the Israelites against many other foes: Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, the kings of Zobah, and the Amalekites (I Sam. 14:47 f.). And while it is true that Saul and his sons died in defeat at the hands of the Philistines on the slopes of Mount Gilboa, the Philistine victory may have been a Pyrrhic one, since they never ventured again so far away from their home cities to battle the Israelites. Then, too, it is possible that the secret of iron smelting was discovered by the Hebrews in Saul's time. The earliest iron plough-share was found in Saul's citadel at Gibeah, and other large plough-shares have been unearthed in Beth Shemesh of approximately the same period. These archaeological evidences strongly suggest that the iron age arrived for Hebrew Palestine in the kingship of Saul, and that the monopoly of the Philistines on metal-working had come to an end. This resulted in an agricultural revolution. It also paved the way for David and Solomon in their time to build up large standing armies.[4]

[4] G. E. Wright, "Iron in Israel," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, Vol. I, No. 2 (May, 1938), pp. 5–8.

Saul appears to have been loyal to Yahweh according to his lights. Yet the later years of Saul's rule were clouded by the loss of Samuel's favor, resulting from a clash of what we today would call the interests of church and state. One may agree that Samuel was right in principle, but still pity the rejected Saul.[5]

THE HEBREW KINGDOM UNDER DAVID. While Saul laid the foundations, David was the real builder of the Hebrew kingdom. His choice of Jerusalem as his capital city was a stroke of political genius, since Jerusalem was located in previously neutral territory and hence was free of ancient tribal jealousies. David proved himself to be a charismatic leader, like his predecessor, as evidenced by his ecstatic dance before the Ark after he brought it to Jerusalem. This episode had political overtones, no doubt, but even from the religious viewpoint alone it was to have far-reaching consequences and was in fact the beginning of the process by which Jerusalem was to become the "Holy City."

Under David's leadership the kingdom reached its widest limits, stretching from the boundaries of the Philistine cities on the west to the Syrian desert on the east and from the Lebanons on the north to the boundaries of Egypt on the south. Possession of this empire laid the basis of material prosperity for David and his regime, since it involved control of the caravan routes that led to the Mediterranean Sea from Mesopotamia and Arabia. David drove the Philistines out of the Plain of Esdraelon. Internally, he quelled revolts against his seizure of power from the house of Saul. A standing army was created. Taxes were levied. The complexity of government under David's rule is clearly indicated by the list in II Samuel 20:23–26 of heads of different departments of state, corresponding to what we would call a cabinet.

THE REIGN OF SOLOMON. The period of Solomon's rule (*c.* 961–922 B.C.) was characterized by a rapid development of material culture, based in large part upon a greatly expanded commerce. Ezion-Geber at the head of the Gulf of Aqabah became the open door for trade with Africa and

[5] See I *Sam.* 13. 15.

Arabia. The domestication of the camel in the twelfth century B.C. had made possible an increased caravan traffic. Solomon controlled the entire caravan trade between Arabia and the regions to the north by means of military outposts in various frontier districts such as Zobah, Damascus, the Hauran, Ammon, Moab, and Edom. It also appears that Solomon acted as a kind of middleman, buying horses from Cilicia in the north and selling them to Egypt, while at the same time buying chariots from Egypt in the south and selling them to countries in the north. The chariot cities referred to in I Kings (4:26; 9:15–19; 10:26) may have been used for purposes of trade as well as defense. At Megiddo passageways and stalls for up to five hundred horses have been excavated, dating from the age of Solomon, and Megiddo was only one of these "chariot-cities" of Solomon. Solomon is even more famous in tradition for the building of the Temple. It should be recognized, however, that the Temple of Solomon achieved its lasting reputation *after* it had become the sole center of public worship in the land and a center of pilgrimage for Jews from all regions of Palestine as well as from many more remote parts of the world. The Temple in Solomon's day was a king's private chapel and only one part of an extensive group of royal buildings.

Solomon's marriages, many of which were intended to seal political alliances, were also a channel through which foreign influences touched Hebrew religious life. First-mentioned among Solomon's wives (I Kings 3:1) and first in importance was the daughter of the Pharaoh of Egypt, for whom Solomon built a separate palace near his own (I Kings 9:24). Solomon's Egyptian marriage was, however, but one of many foreign marriages which brought to the court household women from the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Sidonians, and Hittites (I Kings 11:1–3). They brought with them the worship of their own gods, among them Astarte, the goddess of the Phoenicians, Milkom of the Ammonites, and Chemosh of the Moabites (I Kings 11:5–7). These statements imply that private chapels were built for each of these deities and that they were supplied with attendant priests, undoubtedly

finding patrons in the court. It is likely that Solomon himself shared in the worship of these foreign gods (I Kings 11:4).

In 922 B.C., after a forty-year reign, "Solomon slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David his father; and Rehoboam his son reigned in his stead" (I Kings 11:43). But the haughty young king was not permitted to continue as ruler of a united Hebrew monarchy. The historians of the Kingdom of Judah attribute the breakup of the United Kingdom as much to Solomon's religious innovations as to the economic deterioration caused by his extravagance in private and public expenditures. Still there is little doubt that his extravagant and oppressive policies weakened the country. Before his death Solomon was forced to cede twenty cities of Galilee to Hiram of Tyre in lieu of payment of debts to this Phoenician ruler upon whom he had depended so heavily in the ornamentation of Jerusalem (I Kings 9:11–14). We also know Solomon had resorted to slave labor in his building program, the enslavement not merely of the non-Israelite elements of the population (I Kings 9:20–21) but of Israel as well (I Kings 5:13).

It was his son and heir who paid the full price for these policies, however. Solomon's deed had so alienated the population that when Rehoboam went to Shechem for his coronation, the elders of the ten northern tribes demanded that he promise to relax the burden of the throne upon the people. When Rehoboam refused, the ancient cry of the northern tribes was sounded:

> What portion have we in David?
> We have no inheritance in the son of Jesse.
> To your tents, O Israel!
> Look now to your own house, David. (I Kings 12:16)

Thus ended the United Hebrew Monarchy and thus began the parallel histories of the northern Kingdom of Israel (922–721 B.C.) and the southern Kingdom of Judah (922–587 B.C.).

Religion Under the Divided Monarchy. The worship of foreign gods continued, in the north as well as in the south,

after the division of the kingdom in 922 B.C. Indeed, religious conditions became even worse, so far as the purity of Yahweh-worship was concerned, especially in the north, where Israel was more exposed to Phoenician (Canaanite) influence. For political reasons as well as religious, Jeroboam I (922–901 B.C.) built temples both at Bethel and Dan to rival the temple in Jerusalem. This made it unnecessary for citizens of the northern kingdom to make pilgrimages to the ancient religious center in the south, a practice which no doubt had implied Judah's superiority over Israel. Further to emancipate the people of Israel from the religious (and political) orbit of Judah, Jeroboam established a great national harvest festival to be observed in the north to compete with that long observed in the south. Jeroboam also established a national priesthood to preside over new sanctuaries at Dan, Bethel, and elsewhere, and as the king Jeroboam exercised the office of national priest in the northern kingdom just as Solomon had done in the Jerusalem temple before the division of the monarchy.

THE HOUSE OF OMRI. A still more serious challenge to the Yahweh-faith arose during the reign of Omri and his successors (*c.* 876–869 B.C.). Omri, who had been commander-in-chief of Israel's armed forces, seized power and usurped the throne. If we were to judge by the unfriendly account of Omri's reign provided by prophetic historians in I Kings 16:21–26, we should conclude that the only thing of lasting importance done by Omri was the building of Samaria as a new capital city for the Kingdom of Israel.[6] However, from other sources we know that during his reign there was a sharp increase in the political importance and economic prosperity of Israel. Israel's prestige overshadowed that of the southern kingdom Judah. Omri's fame was such that for a hundred years after his time, even after a change of dynasty, Israel was named in Assyrian records "The Land of the House of Omri."

[6] For the story of excavations on the site of ancient Samaria and what they have revealed, see C. C. McCown, *The Ladder of Progress in Palestine* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1943), chap. xiii. "Luxurious Samaria." Excavations currently underway may be followed in successive issues of *The Biblical Archaeologist.*

The Moabite Stone, discovered in East-Jordan country by a German missionary in 1868, dates from the ninth century B.C. and testifies to the military prowess of Omri.[7] The inscription contains a reference to Mesha, who was king of Moab about 830 B.C., mentioned in II Kings 3:4, and to Chemosh, god of the Moabites, to whom reference is made in I Kings 11:7. It also reports Omri's subjection of Moab, and we know from the Bible that Omri's kingdom was enriched for years following the conquest of Moab by a heavy annual wool tribute paid by Mesha (II Kings 3:4 ff.). Further evidence of Omri's importance as a historical figure is the fact that he developed Samaria as a commercial center and established trading concessions in other countries (I Kings 20:34).

Omri's son and successor, Ahab (869–850 B.C.), seems also to have had more political importance than biblical tradition suggests. He is named on an Assyrian inscription, already referred to, as having contributed two thousand chariots and ten thousand foot soldiers to a coalition of a dozen small countries attempting to throw off Assyrian overlordship.[8] And though there are other ways in which his reign had some importance, the historians of I and II Kings devote their attention almost exclusively to the religious consequences of Ahab's marriage to Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, king of Tyre. Jezebel was not only a crown princess of Tyre at the time of her marriage but also a priestess of the Tyrian Baal and Astarte, goddess of fertility. The arrival of Jezebel in Samaria as Queen of Israel and an enthusiastic although not official missionary of the Phoenician Baal-cult sharpened the sense of religious crisis among those still loyal to Yahweh, the ancient God of Israel. It soon became apparent that the people would have to choose between Yahweh and Baal.

THE PROPHETIC PROTEST. It was the threat of Phoenician Baalism propagated by Jezebel that inspired the prophetic protest initiated by Elijah. The proportions which the Baal movement had assumed under Jezebel's sponsorship may be

[7] See Appendix C for complete text of inscription.
[8] Refer again to Appendix A.

judged by the reference in I Kings 18 to 450 prophets of Baal and 400 prophets of Asherah who ate at Jezebel's table. That Baal had found followers among the native Hebrew population is shown by the description in II Kings 10:18–27 with its reference to the crowd of people with whom "the house of Baal was filled from one end to the other" (II Kings 10:21) and whom Jehu slaughtered as part of his Yahweh revolution. Thus the importation of Phoenician Baalism dramatically focused the issue of Yahweh versus Baal. And in large measure it was Yahweh-worship that profited most from this direct confrontation. Without it, the indirect influence of native Baalism which had been at work ever since Israelites had settled in this previously Canaanite (and hence Baalite) land might slowly and unnoticed have converted Yahweh-worship into its own likeness and thus have won the day.

Here in the ninth century B.C., prophets became a political force for the first time in Hebrew history. This is made clear in the three-point program to which Elijah dedicated himself (I Kings 19:15–18), even though the major responsibility in carrying out this plan of action devolved upon Elisha (II Kings 9, 10). Micaiah, the third great prophetic personality of this period, appears in only one scene (I Kings 22), but there reveals himself to be in the true line of Elijah and Elisha and worthy to be a counselor of kings.

Much confusion exists about Elijah and his place in history. Some have called him a revolutionary, others a reactionary. One thing at least is clear. His chief aim was the destruction of Tyrian Baalism in Israel, and in this he was successful with the aid of Elisha, who inherited his mantle. Much more is involved in this, however, than appears on the surface. Tyrian Baalism was not merely a way of worship; it was identified with a way of life very different from that of the Hebrews. The Phoenician rulers were much more autocratic, the common citizens much more subservient. Hebrew kings could be despotic, but there were always those who challenged them, as Nathan before David (II Sam. 12:1–14). Ahab in the Naboth passage (I Kings 21) recognized that

there were limits to the king's power. This Jezebel could not understand, and she and her Phoenician party were an influence in the direction of autocracy and tyranny. Jezebel also reflected the background of a commercial, urban culture with an aristocratic minority seeking luxury and privilege for itself, while the common people lived on a subsistence basis. When Elijah championed Yahweh (the very name Elijah means "Yah is my El"), he was at the same time championing the rights of the common man and affirming the interrelatedness of religion and morality in the Hebrew scheme of things.

Elijah appeared on the stage of history as a kind of second Moses. His home was Tishbe of Gilead (I Kings 17:1) in East-Jordan, near the desert and its simpler ways of life and religion whence the Israelites had originally come. His whole background and mentality were the very antithesis of West-Jordan culture and the Phoenician-Canaanite ways which had infiltrated the court of Ahab. It does not matter whether we call Elijah revolutionary, conservative, or reactionary. It is important, however, to realize that Elijah and his followers were not concerned merely to resurrect something out of the past. They were combating something very contemporary. The tool they used to fight with was "the nomadic ideal" and its Yahwistic base.

The most significant of Elijah's accomplishments is one of which he himself was probably unaware. As a result of his labors, primarily, Yahweh came to be the Hebrew God of agricultural Palestine, identified no longer merely with the desert past. The way in which this transition took place is well exemplified in I Kings 18, the scene on Mt. Carmel in which Elijah proves the supremacy of Yahweh over the prophets of Baal by bringing down rain from heaven after long months and years of devastating drought. Hitherto rain and fertility had been the province of Baal. Now Yahweh becomes God of nature as well as the God who acts in history, as his followers had previously conceived him. It is made clear for the first time that Yahweh is the giver of rain (I Kings 18:18, 44). The same concept recurs in the J Story of Creation (Gen. 2:5), and in later books of the Bible it has

become a commonplace (Hosea 2:10; Deut. 28:12). This marks an important advance in the understanding of God and his relationship to the world.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

The Battle of Qarqar[9]

[An extract from a stele, a standing inscribed slab, now in the British Museum, which records events of the sixth year of the reign of Shalmaneser III, namely, 853 B.C. The reference to Ahab's participation in the battle of Qarqar provides "the first fixed date, that can be controlled historically, in the entire history of the Hebrew people."[10] In this year Shalmaneser III crossed the Euphrates with territorial conquest in mind. At Qarqar on the Orontes near Hamath in Syria he found a coalition of about a dozen small nations opposing him, the two leading powers being Damascus (Syria) and Israel. Damascus supplied the greater number of infantrymen and Israel the larger number of chariots. Shalmaneser claims a victory, but it is significant that his campaign halted abruptly at this point. The coalition of opposing states soon broke up and Ahab shortly afterward fell in battle against the Syrians.]

I departed from Aleppo and drew near to the two towns of Irhuleni of Hamath, Adennu and Barga. I captured the town of Argana, his royal residence, and took out fine booty, the movable and immovable goods of his palaces. I set fire to his palaces. I departed from Argana and drew near to Qarqar, and then demolished, destroyed, and burned down Qarqar, his royal residence. 1,200 chariots, 1,200 cavalry horses, 20,000 men belonging to Adad-'idri of Damascus,[11] 700 chariots, 700 cavalry, 10,000 men of Irhuleni the Hamathite, *200 chariots and 10,000 men of Ahab the Israelite,*[12] 500 men from Cilicia,

[9] D. Winton Thomas (ed.), *Documents from Old Testament Times* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1958), p. 47.

[10] C. H. Gordon, *Introduction to Old Testament Times* (Ventnor, N.J.: Ventnor Publishers, Inc., 1953), p. 185.

[11] Or Hadadezer, possibly the successor of Benhadad as king of Damascus, with whom Ahab had fought about 860 B.C. (I Kings 20). Hadadezer may be the unnamed "king of Syria" against whom Ahab fought in his last battle (I Kings 22).

[12] Referred to in I Kings 16:29; 20:34; 22:1–37.

1,000 men of Musru, 10 chariots, 10,000 men of Uqanata, 200 men of Matinu-ba'ali the Arvadite, 200 men of Usantu, 30 chariots, 10,000 men of Adunu-ba'ali of Shiazana, 100 camels of Gindibu of Arabia, . . . , 000 men of Ba'asa, son of Ruhubi of Ammon—these were the twelve kings who came to help him. They came directly toward me in close battle, (but) with the superior aid which Ashur the lord had given, and with the mighty weapons which Nergal, my leader, had gifted me, I fought with them. From Qarqar to Gilzau I defeated them.[13] I smote 14,000 of their men with weapons, falling upon them like Adad pouring down a hailstorm.[14] I flung their bodies about, filling the plain with their scattered soldiery.

Appendix B

The Tribute of Jehu[15]

[These words are inscribed on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser, now located in the British Museum. They serve as the superscription for a scene in bas-relief in which Jehu is shown bowing before Shalmaneser. The fact that Jehu is called "son of Omri" means little more than "Israelite," since in Assyrian records all kings of Israel after Omri were so designated.]

The tribute of Jehu, son of Omri. Silver, gold, a golden bowl, a golden vase, golden cups, golden buckets, tin, a staff for the royal hand (?), puruhati-fruits.[16]

Appendix C

The Moabite Stone[17]

[The Moabite Stone was discovered in Dibon (modern Dhiban) in the East-Jordan country by a German missionary in 1868. It was broken by Arabs and then brought to the Louvre in Paris in 1873. It was probably written toward the end of the reign of Mesha, about 830 B.C. Mesha is referred to in II Kings 3:4. Chemosh, god of the Moabites, is referred to in I Kings 11:7 where we read that Solomon built an altar for Chemosh, perhaps in connection with one of Solomon's many marriage-political alli-

[13] Hardly a complete victory, since Shalmaneser did not follow up this claimed success with a further campaign during the next two years.

[14] This number includes the wounded and is probably exaggerated as well.

[15] Thomas (ed.), *Documents from Old Testament Times*, p. 48.

[16] Meaning unknown, but they are pictured on a tray carried on the head of Jehu's last attendant.

[17] Thomas (ed.), *Documents from Old Testament Times*, pp. 196–97.

ances. We know from II Kings 23:13 that this altar was not destroyed until the time of Josiah and his reform, three centuries later.]

I am Mesha, son of Chemosh[18]. . . , king of Moab, the Dibonite.[19] My father was king over Moab thirty years and I became king after my father. And I made this sanctuary for Chemosh at Qrchh, [a sanctuary of] salvation; for he saved me from all the kings and let me see my desire upon my adversaries. Omri,[20] king of Israel, he oppressed Moab many days, for Chemosh was angry with his land. And his son[21] succeeded him and he too said, "I will oppress Moab." In my days he spoke (thus), and I saw my desire upon him and upon his house, when Israel perished utterly for ever. And Omri had taken possession of the land of Medeba[22] and [Israel] dwelt in it his days and half the days of his son, forty years; but Chemosh dwelt in it in my days. And I built Baal-meon and made in it the reservoir, and I built Qaryaten. And the men of Gad had long dwelt in the land of Ataroth, and the king of Israel had built Ataroth for himself. But I fought against the town and took it and I slew all the people of the town, a spectacle for Chemosh and Moab. And I brought back from there the altar-hearth[23] of David and I dragged it before Chemosh at Qeriyoth. And I settled there the men of Sharon and the men of Mchrt. And Chemosh said to me, "Go, take Nebo against Israel." And I went by night and fought against it from the break of dawn till noon; and I took it and slew all: seven thousand men, boys, women, and [girls] and female slaves, for I had consecrated it to Ashtar-Chemosh. And I took from there the vessels of Yahweh and dragged them before Chemosh. And the king of Israel had built Jahaz and he dwelt in it while fighting against me. But Chemosh drove him out before me. And I took from Moab two hundred men, all of them leaders, and led them up against Jahaz and took it to annex it to Dibon. I built Qrchh, the walls of the parks and the walls of the mound; and I built its gates and I built its towers; and I built the king's house; and I made both the reservoirs for water inside the town. And there was no cistern inside the town at Qrchh, so I said to all the people, "Make yourselves each one a cistern in his house." And I had ditches dug for Qrchh by prisoners of Israel. I built Aroer and I made the road by the Arnon. I built Beth-bamoth, for it was destroyed; I built Bezer, for it was in ruins, with fifty men of Dibon, for all Dibon is under my authority. And I reigned [over] hundreds of towns which I had annexed to the country. And I built

[18] God of the Moabites.
[19] I.e., of the town of Dibon.
[20] Omri, ruler of Israel (*c.* 876–869 B.C.). See I Kings 16:16 ff.
[21] Ahab, ruler of Israel (*c.* 869–850 B.C.). See I Kings 16:28 ff.
[22] The modern Madeba.
[23] Probably "lion-figure of David."

. . . Medeba and Beth-Diblathen and Beth-Baal-Meon, and I led up there the breeders of the sheep of the land. And as for Hauronen, there dwelt in it . . . Chemosh said to me, "Go down, fight against Hauronen." And I went down . . . [and there dwelt] in it Chemosh in my days.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. In what way did the international situation from about 1100 B.C. to the middle of the ninth century favor the rise of the United Hebrew Monarchy and the subsequent kingdoms of Israel and Judah?
2. Why is the reference to the Battle of Qarqar in the annals of Shalmaneser III so important to the study of Hebrew history?
3. Who were the Judges and what did they do?
4. Who were the Philistines? Where did they come from and where did they settle? What influence did they have on Hebrew history?
5. What was the relationship of religion to nationalism under the leadership of Samuel?
6. Explain the meaning of "charismatic" in relationship to both Saul and David.
7. Evaluate the reign of Saul.
8. Why call David the "real builder" of the Hebrew monarchy?
9. List some of the material achievements of the Hebrew kingdom under Solomon. Why did the united monarchy split into two kingdoms?
10. What are some reasons for thinking that Omri was a more important ruler than the account given in I Kings 16:21–26 implies?
11. What political events unreported in the Bible, but made known through archaeological discoveries, throw additional light upon the reign of Ahab?
12. Why did the clash between Yahweh and Baal come into especially sharp focus during the period of Ahab's rule?
13. What issues were at stake in this controversy?
14. What was the outcome, religiously?

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Chapter 4

TOWARD UNIVERSALISM: THE HEBREW PROPHETS

DEFINITION OF TERMS. Our English word "prophet" comes from the Greek *prophetes,* which means "spokesman" (for a god). In the Hebrew Bible the basic term for prophet is *nabi'*, which may also be translated "spokesman" (for Yahweh).[1] For example, in Exodus 7:2, where Moses pleads his inability to speak effectively for Yahweh before Pharaoh, and Aaron is chosen to speak for Moses, we read: "See, I make you as God to Pharaoh, and Aaron your brother shall be your prophet (*nabi'*)." There are other names applied to prophets in the Bible. Samuel, for example, was known as a diviner (*ḥozeh*) and a seer (*roeh*) as well as a prophet (*nabi'*). But the highest designation for a prophet in the Bible remains *nabi'*. This is the term applied to the great writing prophets, such as Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. Amos, for example, explains his prophetic function by introducing his oracles with the words "Thus says the Lord."

EARLY PROPHECY. The first reference to prophecy as an organized movement comes from the eleventh century B.C. in the period of the early Hebrew monarchy. To be sure the name prophet is applied in the Bible to earlier individual religious leaders. Moses is called a prophet, Deborah a prophet-

[1] Another translation of *nabi'* has been offered, based upon an etymological study of the word. According to this view, the prophet is one who is called (by God), one who has a vocation (from God). W. F. Albright writes, "This interpretation of the word suits its meaning exactly; the prophet was a man who felt himself called by God for a special mission in which his will was subordinated to the will of God, which was communicated to him by direct inspiration. The prophet was thus a charismatic spiritual leader, directly commissioned by Yahweh to warn the people of the perils of sin and to preach reform and revival of true religion and morality." *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (2d ed.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1957), p. 303.

ess. The activity of an unnamed prophet is described in Judges 6:6–10. Even a non-Israelite, Balaam, plays the role of prophet, offering oracles in the name of Yahweh (Num. 22–24). Individual prophets continue to make their appearance, three of them in the Davidic period: Samuel, Gad (I Sam. 22:5; II Sam. 24:11–14; I Chron. 29:30; II Chron. 29: 25), and Nathan (II Sam. 7; II Sam. 12:1–15; I Kings 1:8–45). Ahijah prophesies to Jeroboam I concerning the division of Solomon's kingdom (I Kings 11:29 ff.). The ninth century prophets include Elijah, Elisha, and Micaiah ben Imlah (I Kings 22).

However, the earliest reference to the prophetic movement as such is I Samuel 10:5–13. Here prophecy emerges from obscurity as an already well-organized and well-disciplined movement, although one of uncertain origin. Johannes Pedersen, a Danish scholar, assigns a Canaanite origin both to the movement itself and to the dervish-like practices associated with it.[2] Support of such a view is given in an eleventh-century B.C. Egyptian document known as the Letter of Wen-Amon, which describes the visit of an official of the Temple of Amon at Karnak to Byblos on the Syrian coast to secure lumber for the building of a ceremonial barge. A brief passage in this document describes a youth, perhaps a court page, who is seized by "prophetic frenzy." A still wider background for this ecstatic type of group prophecy is suggested by those who believe that the movement arose in Asia Minor and spread to Greece in one direction and Syria and Palestine in the other.[3] The appearance of "sons of the prophets" in Israel in the late eleventh century B.C. has been described in the preceding chapter. Later, a revival of ecstatic prophecy took place in the period of Elijah and Elisha. The four hundred prophets whom Ahab consulted before the battle at Ramoth-Gilead were presumably maintained at the court (I Kings 22), which was also the case of the Baal prophets sponsored by Queen Jezebel. Groups of such prophets resided

[2] *Israel: Its Life and Culture,* III–IV (Copenhagen: Branner Og Korch, 1940), p. 111.

[3] See Albright, *op. cit.,* pp. 304–305.

in centers at Bethel (II Kings 2:3), Jericho (II Kings 2:5), Gilgal (II Kings 4:38), and elsewhere. Sometimes they were found roving the countryside, like those in the earlier period whom Saul met immediately after his anointing. These "sons of the prophets" were marked with the tonsure (I Kings 20: 41), which may explain the reference to "baldness" in the case of the taunting remarks hurled at Elisha by the small boys (II Kings 2:3).

Members of these groups continued the various activities practiced by the earlier individual prophets. King and commoner sought them out for advice in individual matters (II Kings 3:11; 4:1 ff.). Just as Samuel had been known as "seer" as well as "prophet," so these *nebi'im* continued to reveal what was hidden and to divine the future (Deut. 13:1; I Kings 22:6, 9, 24; II Kings 1:2–4; 2:3). However, under the leadership of Elijah and Elisha, these prophetic bands were closely associated with the development of the national life and defense of the ancestral Yahweh-religion against the rivalry of Phoenician-Canaanite ways of religion.

THE ECSTATIC ELEMENT. The role played by frenzy and ecstasy in the prophetic movement has been a source of embarrassment to some interpreters of the prophets. However, there is another way of looking at this problem, as Pedersen has pointed out.[4] That approach is to try to understand the role of the prophet in the ancient Hebrew social order. The Hebrews were convinced of the importance to the community of special individuals in whom the spirit or soul-principle was more active than in the majority of people. Three types of individual were endowed with this special gift: the prophet, the priest, and the chieftain. That fact that this power might express itself in ecstatic frenzy in king as well as prophet is illustrated by Saul's relationship to the prophetic band he met descending the hill of Gibeah. Chieftain, prophet, and priest all derived their authority from this spiritual power, communicated through them and vital to the

[4] "The Role played by Inspired Persons among the Israelites," in *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy*, ed. H. H. Rowley (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), pp. 127–42.

social order. Ecstatic seizure was actually a badge of merit, therefore, rather than a sign of inferiority.

THE LATER PROPHETS. As the prophetic movement became more and more identified with the direction of the national life, certain modifications appeared. The ninth-century prophets not only gave advice when it was requested; they sometimes offered it unsolicited, as in the case of Elijah's encounter with Ahab. Although the ecstatic element did not disappear, it was subordinated to the ethical. The main function of prophecy became that of furnishing moral and religious leadership to the nation.

The prophets of the eighth century B.C.—Amos, Hosea, Isaiah of Jerusalem, and Micah—resemble their predecessors in the prophetic movement in numerous ways.[5] They reveal a continuity with the earlier ecstatic prophets in the way in which they present their message. Visions, voices, startling symbolic actions, and generally queer behavior are still present, even if less frequent than in the lives of the earlier prophets. In their denunciation of wickedness in high places, the eighth-century prophets clearly continue in the line of earlier prophets like Nathan, Elijah, and Micaiah. Like their predecessors they evidence the same sense of being "called." Prophecy in the eighth and succeeding centuries is thus the fine flowering of something deeply rooted in the Hebrew past.

But there are differences. The eighth-century prophets are writing prophets. The Book of Amos is contemporary with the events it describes and is in the main written either by the prophet himself or his immediate disciples. The fact that with Amos and his successors prophecies were written down implies, moreover, that prophecy had assumed a moral, rational content. The emphasis is now upon the message of the prophet rather than seizure by the spirit. The finished literary art of the writing prophets is evidence of this new emphasis. The prophetic message has become more impor-

[5] Parts of this material are based on the author's contribution to the discussion of Hebrew prophecy in John C. Archer and Carl E. Purinton, *Faiths Men Live By*, 2d ed.; New York: The Ronald Press Co., (1958), pp. 362 ff.

tant than the ecstatic experience which had earlier been the hallmark of prophets.

The most striking difference is the attitude of the writing prophets toward the national life. Religion for the ninth-century prophets had been closely related to, although not identified wholly with nationalism. The message of the writing prophets, beginning in the eighth century, is one of judgment upon the nation. When one turns from reading about Elijah and Elisha in the Books of Kings, there is an observable change of atmosphere. It is as if the prophets have been climbing up a mountain, the lower slopes of which are wooded and the trail enclosed. With the writing prophets we emerge above the timber line and gaze out over a limitless horizon. Nationalism in religion begins to recede. A moral and religious universalism begins to loom up in the distance.

The writing prophets are consistently pessimistic about the national destinies of Israel and Judah. They are convinced that these two kingdoms are doomed. Amos lumps Israel together with surrounding nations in his message of judgment.

> Are you not like the Ethiopians to me,
> O people of Israel? says the Lord.
> Did I not bring up Israel from the land of Egypt,
> and the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir?
> Behold, the eyes of the Lord God are upon the sinful kingdom,
> and I will destroy it from the surface of the ground . . ." (9:7–8)

In the perspective of history, this proclamation assumes large importance. "Here we have a great advance in the history of religion, for this is the first appeal to an international morality."[6] But when the words were first spoken, the judgment must have seemed harsh and unfeeling.

Moreover, the teachings of Amos ran counter to the most cherished expectations of common people and leaders alike. Fond hopes were entertained, for example, of the imminent

[6] James Muilenburg, in *The Interpreter's Bible,* Vol. I (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1952), p. 318.

"Day of Yahweh" when Yahweh and his people, it was firmly believed, would be vindicated against their enemies. Amos contradicted this popular expectation.

Woe to you who desire the day of the Lord!
Why would you have the day of the Lord?
It is darkness, and not light;
as if a man fled from a lion, and a bear met him;
or went into the house and leaned with his hand against the wall,
and a serpent bit him.
Is not the day of the Lord darkness, and not light,
And gloom with no brightness in it? (5:18–20)

In vain one searches the Book of Amos for a ray of hope, provided the portion 9:8b–15, generally regarded as a later addition, be left out. The only departure from the prevailing pessimism is found in 5:4–5, 14–15. The funeral dirge in 5:2 appears to represent Amos' sad but settled conviction about the destiny of Israel.

Some modification of this pessimism may be found in succeeding prophetic books, but there is no basic change. Hosea's purpose is to warn Israel that Yahweh is about to destroy the nation because of its sins (1:4). There is more warmth of personality in Hosea than in Amos. Hosea's passionate concern for the fate of Israel gives his book added intensity. There are passages in Hosea which suggest hope for the future. Yahweh's love for Israel is such that he cannot let Israel go (11:1–9). But this hope lies in the future after judgment has taken place. Punishment may serve as discipline, but the social and political entity of Israel which now exists is doomed.

Similarly, there is hope in Isaiah, but it is hope for a remnant. Isaiah is mainly responsible for this doctrine of the remnant dramatically symbolized by the name he bestowed upon his son, Shearjashub (7:3) which means "A Remnant shall return." Isaiah perhaps expected the group of disciples which gathered around him to constitute the nucleus of the remnant (8:2–3, 16). Isaiah 6:9–10 is probably his final verdict upon a public he served so long, rather than an opinion entertained at the beginning of his ministry:

And he said, "Go, and say to this people:
'Hear and hear, but do not understand;
see and see, but do not perceive.'
Make the heart of this people fat, and their ears heavy, and shut their eyes;
lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and turn and be healed."

The writing prophets are as pessimistic about the internal condition of their nations as about the political destinies of Israel and Judah. In their diagnosis of the national sickness and their prescription for its cure, they formulated a standard of social morality and religious integrity unequalled before or since their day.

THE BOOK OF AMOS. The teachings of the prophet Amos make a vivid impression upon the modern reader. Much more than Elijah and Elisha, he seems to be one of us. Perhaps this is because the pages of the Book of Amos reflect a rapid transition in Palestine from agricultural to urban life. The majority of men still worked on the land, no doubt, but references to cities and to commerce become more and more frequent. While the period of Jeroboam II was one of military expansion and the boundaries of northern Israel once again reached those achieved first by David, the prosperity of the times did not reach down to the common people. Small farmers were losing their property, and they themselves were sold for debt (2:6). A small group of wealthy men were gathering economic and political power into their own hands.

Amos condemns this economic exploitation (2:6; 5:7; 8:4–6). He also condemns with biting satire the outward appearance of piety worn by the very men who live by such exploitation (5:21–24). And in doing so, Amos makes it crystal clear that religion and morality belong together.

I hate, I despise your feasts,
and I take no delight in your solemn assemblies.
Even though you offer me your burnt offerings and cereal offerings,
I will not accept them,
and the peace offerings of your fatted beasts
I will not look upon.

Take away from me the noise of your songs;
to the melody of your harps I will not listen.
But let justice roll down like waters,
and righteousness like an everflowing stream. (5:21–24)

THE BOOK OF HOSEA. Hosea speaks of justice too (12:6), but his special concern is with the false understanding and false practice of religion. A clue to the false worship which Hosea condemned may be gained from the fact that on the ostraca (inscribed pieces of broken pottery) found at Samaria, dated from 778–770 B.C., the proportion of names formed with "Baal" is nearly as great as those formed with "Yahweh," in marked contrast to the situation in Judah where Baal-compounded names never appear in sources from the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.[7] While Phoenician Baalism had presumably been extirpated in the violent purge conducted by Jehu, older Baalism, probably under the name of Yahweh-worship, had apparently lingered on with its superstition (4:12), sexual immorality (4:12–14), and unworthy priesthood (4:8).

The cause of Israel's failure religiously, according to Hosea, was a lack of knowledge of God (*daath elohim*). The cure he prescribes is *hesed,* most commonly rendered as "love." Its nature had been displayed to Israel by God's covenant love demonstrated in deliverance from Egypt and subsequent events in Israelite history. *Ḥesed* is the loyal response Israel should make toward this divine love. Hosea's whole emphasis is thus deeply inward. No better summary of his interpretation of true religion can be found than in the following lines:

For I desire a steadfast love and not sacrifice,
the knowledge of God, rather than burnt offerings. (Hos. 6:6)

THE BOOK OF MICAH. The stern tone of Amos' demand for social justice sounds again in the pages of the Book of Micah. Micah describes the cruelty of wealthy land owners (2:1, 2), the dispossession of the poor from their homes (2:8–11), and

[7] W. F. Albright, in *The Jews, Their History, Culture, and Religion,* ed. Louis Finkelstein (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), I, 38.

portrays vividly the starved faces of the poor (3:3). Scholars believe that only chapters 1–3 can with certainty be assigned to Micah himself, yet 6:1–8 contains one of the great definitions of religion, marvellously summarizing prophetic religion as a whole:

He has showed you, O man, what is good:
  and what does the Lord require of you
but to do justice, and to love kindness;
  and to walk humbly with your God?

ISAIAH OF JERUSALEM. Isaiah of Jerusalem is the greatest of the eighth-century prophets. His message is many-sided. In language similar to that of Amos he preaches stern warnings to those who exploit the weak and the poor (5:8–23). Also reminiscent of Amos is his condemnation of empty religious formalism divorced from ethical conduct:

When you come to appear before me,
  who requires of you this trampling of my courts?
Bring no more vain offerings;
  incense is an abomination to me.
New moon and sabbath and the calling of assemblies—
  I cannot endure iniquity and solemn assembly,
Your new moons and your appointed feasts
  my soul hates;
they have become a burden to me,
  I am weary of bearing them.
When you spread forth your hands,
  I will hide my eyes from you;
even though you make many prayers,
  I will not listen; your hands are full of blood.
Wash yourselves; make yourselves clean;
  remove the evil of your doings from before my eyes;
cease to do evil, learn to do good;
seek justice, correct oppression;
defend the fatherless, plead for the widow. (Isa. 1:12–15)

Unique in Isaiah's teaching is the conception of the moral holiness of Yahweh. This note is struck in the passage describing Isaiah's prophetic call: "In the year that King Uzziah

died I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up . . ." (6:1). Isaiah is chiefly responsible for giving the concept of the holy its moral connotation. "But the Lord of hosts is exalted in justice, and the Holy God shows himself holy in righteousness" (5:16). Yahweh is exalted not only above Israel but above all the nations of the earth. Assyria, the dreaded destroyer nation of the period, is but the instrument of his justice, serving at his beck and call. "He will raise a signal for a nation afar off, and whistle for it from the ends of the earth; and lo, swiftly, speedily it comes!" (5:26). This unshakable confidence in Yahweh as ruler of history also gives Isaiah a hope for the future, even though it be only for a remnant. There is a beautiful picture in 18:1–7 of the End of Days when Yahweh will rule a perfect world. And if Isaiah is author of the Messianic passages of 9:2–7 and 11:1–9, they furnish still another example of his sublime faith in God's ultimate triumph.

The various passages in which Isaiah counsels faith in Yahweh are but the sequel to this conviction. Here is a clue to the ability of Isaiah himself to stand firm in a day of upheaval. "If you will not believe, surely you shall not be established," Isaiah said to Ahaz (7:9). Our tendency to identify belief with doctrine runs the danger of misinterpreting Isaiah's meaning. A better translation of the passage would be: "If you will not have faith (*theaminu*), You shall surely not be established (*theamenu*)."[8] The verbal stem here is the same as that of the adverb "Amen" used by Jesus in the Lord's Prayer, implying firmness of truth, certainty. Elsewhere Isaiah refers to faith in the poetic symbolism of still running waters: "Because this people have refused the waters of Shiloah that flow gently . . ." (8:5). In 28:16 faith is compared to a sure foundation. In 31:1 faith is described as an inner resource more trustworthy by far than reliance upon horses and chariots. In this teaching of inner reliance upon God, Isaiah matches Hosea in his work of purifying and spiritualizing the understanding of religion.

[8] Translation by James Muilenburg, in *The Interpreter's Bible,* Vol. I, p. 322.

REACTION AND REFORM. Isaiah's active ministry ended in 701 B.C., although the aging prophet may have lived on as long or nearly as long as his friend of three decades, Hezekiah the king, who died in 686 B.C. Both the prophet's supporters and the people of Jerusalem were filled with enthusiasm by the seemingly miraculous deliverance of Jerusalem from destruction at the hand of Sennacherib in 701 B.C., and the event inspired the dogma of the inviolability of Jerusalem and the Temple. However, this optimism was short-lived and the mood of the populace changed all too soon. It was soon apparent that Judah had suffered severely at the hand of the Assyrians. Hezekiah had been forced to pay enormous tribute to Sennacherib (II Kings 18:14–16) who had captured all the walled cities of Judah except Jerusalem (II Kings 18:13), and presumably had destroyed them. The annals of Sennacherib claim that he took forty-six walled cities and deported 200,150 Judean captives.[9] From this time on the Kingdom of Judah consisted of little more than Jerusalem and the nearby portions of what had been Judah. Assyrian power increased after 701 B.C. and Judah was her weak vassal.

It is not surprising, therefore, that a reaction against the prophetic party took place. For the next seventy-five years, not a prophetic voice is reported in the Bible, unless, as some think, the great prophetic definition of religion in Micah 6:8 comes from the period of Manasseh. The prophetic movement had gone underground. Under the reactionary kings, Manasseh (687–642 B.C.) and Amon (642–640), motivated perhaps by the despair of the time, there was a return to primitivism in religion, graphically described in II Kings 21. The worship of other deities was revived, although Yahweh remained the chief god. Superstitious practices flourished, such as augury, divination, spiritualism, and wizardry. The barbarous custom of human sacrifice was reintroduced; King Manasseh himself set the example by burning his own son (II Kings 21:6). The paganized ritualism which the eighth-century prophets had so roundly condemned, again reasserted

[9] See Appendix A.

itself in the religious life of Judah. It must have been a bitter time for those who had staked their faith upon the teachings of the prophets.

However, change was in the making. Manasseh died after a long reign, but Amon, his son, had ruled only two years when he was assassinated. Amon's son, Josiah, succeeded to the throne at the age of eight and ruled for thirty-one years. In 621 B.C., the eighteenth year of Josiah's rule, according to II Kings 22:3 ff., Hilkiah the high priest found a "Book of the Law" (22:8) in the Temple. The book was accepted as the inspired word of Yahweh, adopted as the constitution of the land, and made the basis of a civil and religious reform. "For the first time in the history of mankind, a book was canonized as sacred scripture."[10] The book discovered in the Temple is thought to have been an early draft of the present Book of Deuteronomy and to have included at least the larger part of chapters 5–26 and 28.

THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY. Deuteronomy and the reform inspired by it represent a synthesis of the prophetic and priestly viewpoints. The prophetic emphasis upon social morality as the touchstone of genuineness in religion finds expression in concrete social reform. Yet the priestly influence is plainly to be seen, also. On the worship level the most startling of the reforms was the centralization of worship in the Jerusalem temple. All other places of worship, whether dedicated to Yahweh or devoted to the worship of other deities, were abolished or profaned. From this period dates the custom of making pilgrimages to the national sanctuary in Jerusalem. The Temple itself was purified; that is, sacred objects related to Canaanite and Assyrian forms of worship were removed (II Kings 23:4, 6, 11–12) and a house reserved for cult prostitutes was destroyed (II Kings 23:7). Human sacrifice was abolished (II Kings 23:10). Great prominence was given to the Passover, one of three chief annual festivals specified in Deuteronomy 16:1–17. By order of Josiah the Passover was revived and converted into a na-

[10] R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1941), p. 52.

tional observance (II Kings 23:21–23), whereas it had originally been observed as a family affair within the home (Exod. 12:23–28). Especially significant, religiously, is the emphasis within Deuteronomy upon the mood of rejoicing during religious observances (Deut. 16:11): "and you shall rejoice in all the good which the Lord your God has given to you and to your house, you, and the Levite, and the sojourner who is among you." Lastly, Josiah "put away the mediums and the wizards and the teraphim and the idols and all the abominations that were seen in the land of Judah and in Jerusalem . . ." (II Kings 23:24).

On the social level, the Book of Deuteronomy contains recommendations stamped with a markedly humanitarian character and clearly reflecting the prophetic teaching about social justice. Many of the civil laws are intended to protect the weak and oppressed members of the community. They deal with such matters as the Year of Release (15:1–11); the just treatment of slaves (15:12–18), including escaped slaves (23:15); the prohibition of usury to a fellow-Israelite (23:19); justice to hired laborers (24:14); justice toward the stranger, widow, and orphan (24:17–18); the law about gleanings (24:19–22); and even laws prohibiting cruelty to animals (25:4). The Deuteronomic legislation is based upon earlier codes, prominent among them being the so-called Covenant Code (Exod. 20:23–23:33). A study of a few typical cases will show that as compared with the Covenant Code, the laws of Deuteronomy represent an expansion of the earlier laws with an emphasis upon justice and humanity (Deut. 15:7–11 to be compared with Exod. 23:10–11; Deut. 15:12–18 to be compared with Exod. 21:2–11; Deut. 19:1–13 to be compared with Exod. 21:12–14; etc.).

In the long perspective of history, 621 B.C. may now be seen to have marked a significant turning-point in Hebrew faith. In the first place, the acceptance of a book as the basis of religious life is the beginning of the process by which Jews became "the people of the book." For Judaism this is the beginning of the making of the Torah, the five books of Moses, basic to later Jewish faith. For Christians, as well as

Jews, it is the beginning of the making of the Bible. Related to this is a second fact of importance, namely, that prophecy began to decline. The authority of the spoken word diminished in proportion as the authority of the written word increased. In the third place, the religious basis of the Deuteronomic reform prepared the way for a fundamental change in Jewish life, from members of a nation-state to a religious community in the period following the Exile. In this connection, it may be seen that the existence of a religious core at the center of the national life is one of the factors which made it possible for Jewish religious life to survive the destruction of the national state in 587 B.C.

Certain defects of the Deuteronomic movement became apparent in the course of time, however. One was the reappearance of the tendency to externalize religion, to identify religion with its outward forms. Jeremiah condemned the false confidence the people placed in their possession of the Temple in their midst and in their outward observance of ritual, and asserted the need of a new covenant to be written on the hearts of men. Moreover, emphasis upon the Covenant and the associated idea of Israel's election resulted in a sense of narrow nationalism quite in contrast with the quality of life envisioned by the eighth century prophets. Finally, the reward and punishment theology, summed up in the words "that it may go well with you" (Deut. 5:33; 6:3; see also 8:1; 12:28; and 30:15–20), became accepted dogma even though an occasional spirit like the author of Job protested its tragic inadequacy.

THE PROPHET JEREMIAH. Jeremiah began to prophesy in Judah in 626 B.C. (Jer. 1:2; 25:3). Many scholars believe that chapter 11 of the Book of Jeremiah confirms the prophet's early support of the Deuteronomic Reform (11:1–7) and later disillusionment with its results (11:8). It is clear from the great Temple Sermon (Jer. 7) that Jeremiah condemned the emphasis upon outward forms and the feeling of false security the Deuteronomic movement seems to have produced.

> Do not trust in these deceptive words: "This is the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord." For if you truly amend your ways and your doings, if you truly execute justice one with another, if you do not oppress the alien, the fatherless or the widow, or shed innocent blood in this place, and if you do not go after other gods to your own hurt, then I will let you dwell in this place, in the land that I gave of old to your fathers for ever. (7:4–7)

Jeremiah reinforced his warning against the substitution of pride in a place of worship for the right attitude of heart by a prediction that the Temple in Jerusalem would be destroyed even as the temple at Shiloh had been (7:14). Baruch, Jeremiah's intimate friend, disciple, scribe, and biographer, in his independent report of the Temple Sermon and its aftermath (Jer. 26) states that only the influence of a member of the court who was sympathetic to Jeremiah saved the prophet's life after these provocative words (26:14). What was truly needed, according to Jeremiah, was a deep-going inner change. In the most famous passage of his book Jeremiah calls for a new covenant written on the hearts of men to take the place of the old Mosaic covenant which had been written on stone (31:31–34).

Jeremiah is the prophet of inwardness in religion. The most intimate and personal parts of his book are the so-called Confessions of Jeremiah (1:4–19; 11:18–23; 12:1–6; 15:10 f., 15–21; 17:14–18; 18:18–23; 20:7–12, 14–18). These self-revelations permit us to recognize in Jeremiah a shy and sensitive personality (1:6), led by an inner religious compulsion to endure mockery and brutal violence (11:18–23). In these passages we find an inner dialogue with God. The prophet is perplexed by the prosperity of the wicked and would have revenge (12:1–6). In this dialogue we find the first clear example of the life of personal prayer. "Wilt thou be to me like a deceitful brook, like waters that fail?" the prophet asks (15:18). "If you return," comes the answer, "I will restore you, and you shall stand before me . . . And I will make you to this people a fortified wall of bronze; they will fight against you, but they shall not prevail over you, for I am with you, to save you and deliver you, says the Lord" (15:19, 20). Again in 20:11 God's answer comes to Jeremiah's personal petition in the form of inner renewal and

irresistible strength: "But the Lord is with me as a dread warrior; therefore my persecutors will stumble, they will not overcome me." To say that Jeremiah is the true founder of personal religion is not to deny that Jeremiah loved his nation and hoped against hope that it could be saved. Nevertheless, when the nation fell before the Babylonian invader in 587 B.C., the emphasis upon inwardness in religion was one of the factors that made it possible for Hebrew faith to survive.

EZEKIEL, PROPHET IN EXILE. Ezekiel, a younger contemporary of Jeremiah, also served the nation as a leader in a time of transition. The year 587 divides his public career into two nearly equal parts. The prophecies delivered before that date are messages of prophetic condemnation, while the later prophecies, addressed to the exiles in Babylonia, are inspiring messages of hope for a discouraged people combined with a stern demand for exclusive loyalty to Yahweh. One of the most important ideas of Ezekiel, shared with Jeremiah, was his conviction that the Hebrew people could still place their trust in Yahweh, even though the national state had ceased to exist. Here is an important stage in the development of religious universalism. The Yahweh-faith survived the fall of the nation precisely because there were prophetic leaders like Ezekiel who were able to divorce the conception of Yahweh from dependence upon a place and a political entity. One of the passages in which Ezekiel affirms the independence of Yahweh of the state and even of the Temple in Jerusalem occurs in his opening vision (1:3–3:37). The vision of God in his unique greatness is described in almost overwhelming detail, but several of Ezekiel's most important ideas appear in this passage: Yahweh's transcendence, his glory, his nature as Spirit, the fact that he is not limited to Jerusalem. A modern writer has put it vividly:

> The ideas are clear, Yahweh rules the universe. He can go everywhere (omnipresence), function everywhere (omnipotence, even in Babylonia) and see everything (omniscience). It is strong theology in a sugar-coating of dazzling imagery.[11]

[11] C. S. Knopf, *The Old Testament Speaks* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1933), p. 270.

In chapter 10 Ezekiel describes even more specifically the "glory of the Lord" rising from above the temple in Jerusalem and being transported to Babylonia to be with his people in exile.

A later passage contains the famous Vision of the Valley of Dry Bones (37:1–14), a striking way of proclaiming Ezekiel's conviction that Israel is to be resurrected. Similarly, in the same chapter (37:15–28), the Vision of the Two Sticks which are joined together to become one expresses the confident expectation that exiles of both the northern and southern kingdoms will be reunited and restored to their homeland. In 34:11–16 there is a message of hope so beautifully phrased that it has been called a prose version of the twenty-third psalm. In chapters 40–48 of the Book of Ezekiel, although the authorship of this material is debated, there is a blueprint of the restored Temple, its architecture, its services, and its worshippers so vivid that it must have helped to bring into being and to mold the shape of the new religious life which emerged in the period of restoration.

Ezekiel, like Jeremiah, combated the prevailing discouragement and inertia of the people by preaching a doctrine of individual responsibility. Both prophets (Jer. 31:29 and Ezek. 18:2) quote a proverb in which the people are represented as saying that their present suffering is the product of a past over which they have no control. Ezekiel affirms that the individual can control his own destiny—a half truth, to be sure, but the particular part of the truth needed for that time.

> The word of the Lord came to me again. "What do you mean by repeating this proverb concerning the land of Israel, 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge?' As I live, says the Lord God, this proverb shall no more be used by you in Israel. Behold, all souls are mine; the soul of the father as well as the soul of the son is mine; the soul that sins shall die." (18:1–4)

In this doctrine of individual responsibility, there is no lessening of the ancient prophet's concern for the community of Israel. Ezekiel's challenge to the individual Israelite is his way of awakening a deadened and almost inert corporate

life. Ezekiel would no doubt have addressed to each individual Israelite the words which he heard addressed to him: "Son of Man, stand upon your feet, and I will speak with you" (2:1). It was to a considerable degree the result of Ezekiel's labors that the people of Israel did again stand upon their feet and that a religious community was re-established in the Palestinian homeland.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

Sennacherib's Siege of Jerusalem[12]

[Eight campaigns of Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.) were recorded in 691 B.C. on a clay prism now in the British Museum and known as the Taylor prism. A copy may be seen in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The following sections of the narrative describe Assyrian defeats of Syrian, Philistine, and Egyptian forces, the destruction of Judean towns and villages, and the siege of Jerusalem which was given up after Hezekiah surrendered Padi, king of Ekron, and paid tribute in 701 B.C.]

In my third campaign I marched against Hatti. The awful splendour of my lordship overwhelmed Luli, king of Sidon, and he fled far off over the sea and died (an infamous death). The fearsome nature of the weapon of the god Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed Great Sidon,[13] Little Sidon, Bit-Zitti, Zariptu, Mahalliba, Ushu, Akzib (and) Akku, his strong walled cities, places where there were food and drinking facilities for his garrisons, and they bowed in submission at my feet. Tuba'alu (Ethba'al) I sat on the throne to be the king and imposed upon him tribute, due to my lordship (to be rendered) annually without ceasing.

As for Menahem of Samsimuruna, Tuba'alu of Sidon, Abdili'ti of Arvad, Urumilki of Gebal (Byblos), Mitinti of Ashdod, Buduili of Beth-Ammon, Kammusunadbi of Moab (and) Aiarammu of Edom, all of them kings of Amurru; they brought valuable gifts—heavy sub-

[12] D. Winton Thomas (ed.), *Documents from Old Testament Times* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1958), pp. 66–67.

[13] The places listed immediately after Great Sidon are all found between Sidon and Tyre.

mission gifts—before me for the fourth time and kissed my feet. But as for Sidqa, king of Ashkelon, who did not bow in submission to my yoke, I deported and sent away to Assyria his ancestral gods, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers and the descendants of his ancestors. I set Sharruludari, son of Rukibtu, their former king, over the people of Ashkelon and imposed on him the rendering of tribute, *katre*-presents[14] for (to acknowledge) my lordship so that he now drags at the (yoke-) ropes!

In the course of my campaign, I surrounded, captured and carried off the spoil of Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Banaiabarqa, Azuru, cities belonging to Sidqa, who did not bow in submission at my feet quickly. The officials, nobles and people of Ekron, who had thrown Padi, their king, into iron fetters as one loyal to the treaty and obligations of (imposed on him by) Assyria, had given him up to Hezekiah, the Jew, as an enemy.[15] On account of the offence they had committed, their heart took fright and they implored (help from) the kings of Egypt, (and) bowmen, chariots of the kings of Ethiopia (Meluhha), an innumerable host, and, indeed, they came to help them. In the plain of Eltekeh, their battle array being drawn up over against me, they prepared their weapons. On (the oracular promise of) the help of Ashur, my lord, I clashed and effected their defeat. Amid the battle, my own hands captured alive the Egyptian charioteers and princes, together with charioteers belonging to the Ethiopian king. I besieged and captured the town of Eltekeh and Timnah and carried off spoil from them. I drew near to Ekron and slew the officials and nobles who had committed the crime and hung their bodies on posts around the city. I counted as prisoners of war the citizens who had done hostile and abusive things. I ordered the release of the rest of them, who were not convicted of any crime or misbehavior, against whom there was no charge. I caused Padi, their king, to come out of Jerusalem and sat him on the throne as lord over them, fixing upon him (the payment of) tribute to my lordship.

But as for Hezekiah, the Jew, who did not bow in submission to my yoke, forty-six of his strong walled towns and innumerable smaller villages in their neighbourhood I besieged and conquered by stamping down earth-ramps and then by bringing up battering rams, by the assault of foot-soldiers, by breaches, tunnelling and sapper operations. I made to come out from them 200,150 people, young and old, male and female, innumerable horses, mules, donkeys, camels, large and small cattle, and counted them as the spoils of war. He himself I shut up like a caged bird within Jerusalem, his royal city. I put watch-

[14] *Katre*-presents are amounts to be paid in accordance with an agreement (*katre*).

[15] Hezekiah the Jew. Omission of the title "king" may be intended to indicate scorn.

posts strictly around it and turned back to his disaster any who went out of its city gate. His towns which I had despoiled I cut off from his land, giving them to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, Padi, king of Ekron, and Sillibel, king of Gaza, and so reduced his land. Moreover, I fixed upon him an increase in the amount to be given as *katre*-presents.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Discuss the derivation and meaning of the word "prophet."
2. What is known or conjectured about the origin and early development of ecstatic prophecy?
3. How is ecstatic prophecy to be evaluated?
4. What are some likenesses and some differences between the early, ecstatic prophets and the later, writing prophets?
5. Specifically, how do the writing prophets, beginning with Amos, differ from the earlier prophets in their attitude toward the national life?
6. What is distinctive about the social and religious message of each of the eighth-century prophets: Amos, Hosea, Isaiah of Jerusalem, and Micah?
7. What is the deeper meaning of Isaiah's words about faith in Yahweh?
8. Compare the biblical account of the siege of Jerusalem in II Kings 18:13–19:37 with the description of the Sennacherib prism (see Appendix A). Why did Sennacherib lift the siege?
9. Illustrate the synthesis of prophetic and priestly elements found in the Book of Deuteronomy.
10. What makes 621 B.C. a turning-point in religious history?
11. In what sense did Jeremiah and Ezekiel prepare the way for the transition from nationalism in religion to universalism?

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Chapter 5

EXILE AND RESTORATION

THE END OF THE HEBREW STATE. The Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. brought to an end the Hebrew kingdom of which David had been the chief architect and whose direct lineal descendants had continued to rule the southern kingdom after the absorption of the northern kingdom into the Assyrian Empire in 721 B.C. After 587 the Jews became a subject people under the rule successively of Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, with a brief period of independence under the Maccabees.

When Jerusalem succumbed to siege, the Temple was burned and remained a blackened ruin for more than half a century. Thus the Jews lost both their religious and their political center. These tragic events posed profound questions. Could the Jewish community preserve its identity after the nation as a political entity had disappeared? Could the Yahweh-faith survive the death of the political state? No other culture or religion of the Middle East up to that time had survived under such conditions. The rebirth of the religion of the Jews like a phoenix out of the ashes of the ancient national cult is one of the marvels of history.

The scattering of Jews about the ancient world had begun long before the fall of Jerusalem. The maritime commerce which had been developed in the period of Solomon (tenth century) had given an early impetus to a voluntary type of dispersion along the avenues of trade. The rate of dispersion was sharply quickened by compulsory deportations to Mesopotamia which followed the conquest of Samaria by the Assyrians in 721 B.C. and successive seizures of Jerusalem by the Babylonians in 597 B.C. and 587 B.C. The device of deportation is thought to have originated with the Hittites and after their time was employed successively by Assyrians,

Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, and, in modern times, Turks and—as Longfellow's *Evangeline* reminds us—Anglo-Americans. The purpose of deportation was not genocide, an unhappy invention of the twentieth century, but rather the breaking up of the cohesion of nationality groups and their absorption into the empires of the conquerors.

The history of all deported groups, with the single exception of the Jews, comes to the same conclusion: the loss of any connection with the original center. In the case of the Jews it was different. Wherever they were in exile, Jerusalem remained for them their spiritual center. Some, at least, of the Jews in Egypt, condemned by Jeremiah for their faithlessness to Yahweh, appear to offer an exception to this rule. Nevertheless, the majority of exiled Jews clung to their ancestral faith. It was this which kept them from the loss of their identity and which permitted the rise of what we know in history as the religion of Judaism. The 137th Psalm effectively portrays this constant "looking" toward Jerusalem:

By the waters of Babylon, there we sat down and wept,
when we remembered Zion.
On the willows there we hung up our lyres.
For there our captors required of us songs,
and our tormentors, mirth, saying,
"Sing us one of the songs of Zion!"
How shall we sing the Lord's song
in a foreign land?
If I forget you, O Jerusalem, let my right hand wither!
Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I do not remember you, if I do not set Jerusalem above my highest joy! (Ps. 137:1–6)

CENTERS OF JEWISH LIFE IN EXILE. While Jews must have been scattered widely throughout the Middle East and remoter parts of the Mediterranean world following the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C., yet it is possible to speak of three main centers of Jewish life during the exile. These were Palestine itself, Egypt, and Babylonia.

Prior to the final siege of Jerusalem, walled town after town of the Judean hill country and of the Shephelah had

been systematically destroyed by the Babylonian conquerers. Albright has stated that the Judean countryside is an "archaeological *tabula rasa*" for the period of the sixth century B.C. after 587.[1] Unwalled villages remained, of course, and Judean peasantry attempted to pursue their ancient ways of husbandry. Those deported to Babylonia included only the aristocracy and skilled artisans. Yet the hazards of life resulting from the successive sieges of 597 and 587 reduced the land to a state of poverty and fear that caused many of the common people to seek a more secure existence elsewhere. On the basis of archaeological evidence, it has been estimated that the population of Judah may have dropped from a peak of 250,000 at the end of the eighth century to about half that number in the period between 597 and 587 B.C.[2] This process of depopulation can only have been accelerated after the final destruction of Jerusalem in 587 and the deportation of its leading citizens.

Thus the position of the surviving Jewish community in Palestine was very weak. Judah was now merely a Babylonian province, greatly reduced in territory. The northern Judean hill country had been made part of the Babylonian province of Samaria. Unfriendly neighbors encroached on other frontiers of this depopulated territory, as for example the Edomites, who expanded northward, displacing Jewish inhabitants as far as Hebron. The territory assigned to Judah was a relatively small area consisting of Jerusalem and the surrounding countryside. Living conditions were difficult; economic and social life were disrupted; the land was full of widows and orphans; religious life was thoroughly disorganized, the leaders deported and the Temple in ruins. Those who remained in the land were a dispirited lot. The Judean community was now unable to provide a religious

[1] W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (2d ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1957), p. 322. Excavations at Bethel in 1934 revealed a slow process of revival at that center, but during this period Bethel was in territory belonging to the Assyro-Babylonian province of Samaria and not a part of Judah.

[2] W. F. Albright, in *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion,* ed. Louis Finkelstein (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), I, 47.

center or to serve even as the nucleus of a restored Jewish community.

Egypt was another center of Jewish life in the period of exile. There had been an infiltration of Israelites into Egypt, especially the delta lands, dating from the earliest period of Hebrew history, as witnessed in the Jacob-Joseph cycle of biblical tradition. Moreover, Palestinians had always been involved in the long-sustained power struggle between the empires of the Tigris-Euphrates and the Nile, some favoring Assyria and Babylonia, some supporting the Egyptian cause. The pro-Egyptian party had received a serious setback by the Babylonian triumphs of the early sixth century. Then, two months after the destruction of Jerusalem and the burning of the Temple, Gedaliah, who had been recently appointed governor by Nebuchadnezzar, was murdered by a descendant of David named Ishmael (II Kings 25:22–26).

This episode and the fear of consequent Babylonian punishment led a considerable number of Judeans to hasten to safety in Egypt. From a parallel account in the Book of Jeremiah (40:7–43:7), we know that the prophet himself was taken against his will to Egypt at this time. Jeremiah himself probably died in Egypt within a few years after 587. His references to the Jews in Egypt indicate a considerable Jewish population in this period, but they also make clear that Jeremiah placed no hope in the Egyptian exile as a guarantee of survival of the Yahweh-faith. Jeremiah condemns Jewish exiles in Egypt for offering incense to "other gods" (44:8). Jewish women in particular receive his blame for worshipping the "Queen of Heaven" (44:18).

Similar evidence that Jews in Egypt worshipped local deities as well as Yahweh has been furnished by the Elephantine Papyri, which were discovered in 1903 on an island at the First Cataract of the Nile. The Elephantine Papyri consist of eight letters coming from what was apparently a colony of Jewish mercenary soldiers in Egypt. The longest of these letters was addressed to the governor of Jerusalem, asking his help in rebuilding a temple in which they wor-

shipped Yahweh under the name "Yahu."[3] It is surprising to find a temple to Yahweh in fifth century Egypt, since in the law of Deuteronomy public worship at any altar except the one in Jerusalem was prohibited. It is even more surprising to find reference made in one of the letters to three other divine names: Eshem-Bethel, Herem-Bethel, and Anath-Bethel or Anath-Yahu.[4] It has been argued that these are simply other names for Yahweh, but most scholars think that they illustrate the influence of a polytheistic environment upon the Jews of Elephantine.

It was among the Jewish exiles in Babylonia that creative religious leadership appeared. It was actually the descendants of the Judean exiles of 597 and 587 B.C. and not the Israelites deported in 721 among whom the consciousness of religous mission persisted. This may perhaps be explained as the result of the greater degree of religious development which had taken place in Jerusalem in the additional century and more which had been given Judah before her own destruction.

> The Israelitish brethren probably were absorbed by the foreign environment. . . . The Jews, on the other hand, on their transplantation to Babylonia, had become conscious of the religious uniqueness which set them apart from all other nations. They had witnessed the rehabilitation of the Mosaic Torah; the sabbath and other rites were the 'signs' by which they knew each other and held together; they had been chastened by the stern rebukes of the great prophets, whose lessons they now, as never before, took to heart. . . . Moreover, they had a prophet among them, such as their brethren in Egypt had not after the death of Jeremiah.[5]

Nor should we forget the role of the former priest class, their energies now freed from the exacting requirements of the Temple service itself. No temple to Yahweh was built in Babylonia. Rather, the Temple in Jerusalem was to be re-built, the people were to return to their homeland. In the meantime, priestly leaders gave themselves to the task of

[3] See Appendix A, I.

[4] See Appendix A, II.

[5] Max L. Margolis and Alexander Marx, *A History of the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1927), p. 115.

holding the religious ideal of the Jewish people before them. The Jewish people were called to be a holy people, they insisted. The so-called "Holiness Code" (Leviticus 17–26) expresses this conviction and presumably received its present form during this period, since there are distinct references in this material to the exile (26:27–44). The instructions of the priestly leaders were no doubt oral as well as written. Meetings for worship and instruction would be held, and both oral and written guidance would be needed for these gatherings. But priestly leaders gave much of their time to a rewriting and amplification of existing traditions. The point of view of these writers naturally gave prominence to the institutional side of religious life. They traced back to the very beginnings the command to observe the Sabbath Day (Gen. 1:28 ff.). Much emphasis was placed upon ritual and ceremony and upon the importance of the priesthood itself. The priestly writers, for example, saw to it that Aaron, representative of the priesthood, was always portrayed as being at the side of Moses in his encounters with the Pharaoh. Thus began in Babylonian exile the process by which Torah and tradition came to occupy the center of Jewish religious life. Around such a concept there developed those hopes and convictions which led to the restoration of Jewish life in Palestine and the rebuilding of the Temple.

SECOND ISAIAH, OR ISAIAH OF BABYLON. A generation after Ezekiel, an unknown prophet who was at the same time a great poet wrote words addressed to the Jews in Babylonian exile. He is usually referred to as Second Isaiah or Deutero-Isaiah, and is thought to be the anonymous author of chapters 40–66 of the Book of Isaiah. (Many scholars believe still a third author is to be assumed for chapters 56–66; in this case, Second Isaiah was the author of chapters 40–55.) Even his place of residence is uncertain, but a recent interpreter has asserted that "Babylon has the best claim" among a number of suggested places.[6] We do, however, know that Second Isaiah must have written chapters 40–48 before the

[6] James Muilenburg in *The Interpreter's Bible,* Vol. V (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1956), p. 397.

rise of Cyrus the Great to supreme power over what had been the Babylonian Empire, since in these chapters the surrender of Babylon to Cyrus the Persian is still in the future.

Second Isaiah brought a message of hope to discouraged Jews living in Babylonian exile. This hope is communicated in the lyrical words of Isaiah 40:1 ff., set to music in Handel's famous oratorio:

> Comfort, comfort my people, says your God.
> Speak tenderly to Jerusalem, and cry to her
> that her warfare is ended, that her iniquity is pardoned,
> that she has received from the Lord's hand
> double for all her sins.

It was the rise to power of Cyrus the Great that prompted this optimistic outlook. In 539 B.C., after previous lesser conquests, Cyrus defeated Belshazzar, son of Nabonidus, and then marched against the city of Babylon. As it turned out Babylon fell before his advance without a struggle, the city being delivered into Cyrus' hands by treachery. It was Cyrus who founded the Achaemenid line of rulers of Persia, a dynasty which proved to be more favorable to the Jews than any other rulers in history.

Religious universalism finds more clear and eloquent expression in the words of Deutero-Isaiah than anywhere else in the Hebrew Bible. Here for the first time absolute monotheism is made explicit, in contrast to partial and anticipatory statements elsewhere. "Thus says the Lord, the King of Israel and his Redeemer, the Lord of hosts: 'I am the first and I am the last; besides me there is no god' " (Isaiah 44:6; see also 45:5, 14, 18; 46:9; etc.). Moreover, this message is intended not only for the nation of Israel, but also for the Gentiles. "It is too light a thing that you should be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel; I will give you as a light to the nations, that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth" (49:6). These words are all the more impressive when one remembers that they were addressed to exiled Jews living in Babylonia where they were

surrounded on all sides by majestic temples devoted to the various deities of the Babylonian pantheon.

An accompanying religious idea is expressed through the so-called "Servant Songs" (42:1–7; 49:1–6; 50:4–9; 52:13–53:12). It is the conception of vicarious suffering which strongly influenced early Christianity in its interpretation of the meaning of Jesus' life and death, and which may indeed have offered Jesus himself a pattern for his own public mission. Much debate and ingenuity have been spent in an attempt to identify the Servant in the author's thinking. Probably he was thinking of the nation of Israel and attempting to reconcile his conviction that Israel was a chosen people with the fact of her tragic history. Second Isaiah answers this question by means of his doctrine of vicarious suffering. The concept is dramatically developed in a series of four poetic statements. In the first (42:1–7), there is a confident assertion that the Servant is chosen by God for a great mission which he will surely accomplish. In the second passage (49:1–6), the sense of mission is heightened, if anything, though in a single verse (49:4) we catch a suggestion of doubt or bewilderment. In 50:4–9 the necessity of suffering is accepted by the Servant, accompanied by a touchingly intimate declaration of God's nearness. Finally in 52:13–53:12 the prophet carries his thinking about the Servant to its conclusion. It is through suffering that his mission will be accomplished.

The Restoration of the Jewish Community in Palestine. In 538 B.C., shortly after establishing his new Persian Empire in the place of the previous Babylonian regime, Cyrus the Great gave permission for Babylonian Jews to return to Palestine and to rebuild the Temple. Just how many Jews availed themselves of this privilege is a moot question. The only sources of information are Ezra, Nehemiah and the prophetic Books of Haggai and Zechariah. Scholars disagree about the reliability of the description of the return from Babylonia given in Ezra 1–6. It is difficult to accept as historical fact Ezra's statement (2:64) that 42,360 exiles

returned in a body from Babylonia, when we know from Jeremiah (52:28–30) that the exiles deported by Nebuchadnezzar in the successive deportations of 721, 597, and 587 B.C. totalled only 4,600. It seems unlikely that the Jewish population of Babylonia could have increased sufficiently within a period of fifty years to permit such a large return. And there is the further fact that the majority of exiles, having put roots down in Babylonia, probably elected to remain there. Josephus claims that many of them stayed in Babylonia, being "unwilling to leave their possessions."[7] Therefore, it would probably be more correct to estimate the number of returning Jews in the hundreds rather than the thousands.

Haggai and Zechariah provide the only eyewitness accounts of this period of rejuvenation of Jewish life in Palestine. We learn that under their urging the rebuilding of the Temple was begun in 520 and completed in 515 B.C. Other leaders of the period named in the writings of these prophets were Zerubbabel, governor of Judah, and Joshua, the high priest. The leadership of these four men coincided with a period of political uncertainty following the death of Cambyses, successor to Cyrus, in 522 B.C. The spirit of nationalism stirred again in their hearts, and Haggai and Zechariah expressed their belief that Zerubbabel was chosen to resume the Davidic throne (Haggai 2:20–23). Zechariah even went so far as to have a crown made for Zerubbabel from gold and silver that had been brought from Babylonia (Zech. 6:9–14). Order was soon re-established throughout the Persian Empire by Darius I, however, and Zerubbabel disappeared from Judean public life. One may guess how. Persian rule may have been benevolent, compared to earlier regimes, but it was politically efficient and gave no encouragement to local aspirations for independence.

NEHEMIAH, EZRA, AND THEIR TIMES. Nearly three quarters of a century elapsed between the completion of the Temple and the arrival of Nehemiah on leave of absence from the Persian court. The glowing hopes of Haggai and Zecha-

[7] *Antiquities of the Jews*, XI, 1, 3.

riah had not been fulfilled. They had promised a renewal of the splendor of earlier Hebrew national life resting on a base of peace and material prosperity, provided only that the Temple as the religious center be restored and its services be faithfully carried out. The Book of Malachi provides an authentic glimpse of conditions as they actually existed during the half century immediately preceding Nehemiah's arrival. It is a discouraging picture. The only encouragement Malachi can offer the people is to remind them that the lot of their ancient enemies, the Edomites, is even worse than their own (1:2–5). Malachi is critical of the priests who say, "What a weariness is this," as they perform their ritual functions. He is critical of the people, accusing them of giving for Temple sacrifices blemished and inferior animals among their flocks (1:14). The prophet accuses the people of cheating in the payment of their Temple tithes (3:8). The total picture is one of economic misery and religious discouragement. By his condemnation of divorce and mixed marriages Malachi anticipates the reform measures recommended in the time of Nehemiah. The most famous part of the Book of Malachi is the vivid warning of a fiery judgment day which is to be accompanied by the return of Elijah (Mal. 4).

The next authentic information concerning Jewish life in the Persian period comes to us from the hand of Nehemiah. It is found in the so-called "Memoirs of Nehemiah" used as a source by the Chronicler in his editing of our present books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Scholars agree that these authentic memoirs include chapters 1–7 and all or at least most of the material beginning with 11:1 and continuing to the end of the book. The value of these autobiographical reminiscences is indicated by the statement of a modern scholar that they contain "the only unimpeachable source for Jewish history between Haggai and Zechariah in 520–516 and I Maccabees for the period 175–135 . . . They are not only one of the most accurate historical sources in the Old Testament, but they pierce for a moment the darkness en-

veloping the political history of the Jews during the Persian period."[8]

Nehemiah is an authentic and important historical figure. Ben Sira in 180 B.C. includes him in his "Praise of the Fathers of Old" (Ecclus. 44:1–49:13) by describing him as the one "who raised up our ruins and healed our breaches." Nehemiah appears to have visited Palestine twice on leave of absence from his official duties at the Persian court. On the first visit (445 B.C.) he supervised the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem in a period of fifty-two days. The second visit (432 B.C.) was undertaken to carry out the reforms described in Nehemiah 13. The reforms here attributed to Nehemiah are essentially the same as those credited to Ezra (9:1 ff.), and this has led some scholars to assume that Ezra is a fictitious creation of the Chronicler's imagination. It seems possible to believe, however, that Ezra was a historical figure. By some he is assigned a date (458 B.C.) before Nehemiah; by others he is placed a generation after Nehemiah (398 B.C.). The reason for this ambiguity is that there were two kings called by the name Artaxerxes referred to in Ezra 7:7, and it is difficult to decide whether the king mentioned was Artaxerxes I or Artaxerxes II. However, the important thing for us to remember about Ezra is that in Jewish tradition he is a symbol of the reorganization of Jewish religious life on the basis of the Law of Moses, or Torah, as that had been revised and recodified in Babylonian exile. "When the law had been forgotten in Israel, Ezra came up from Babylonia and established it."[9] Prior to this time religious life had been conducted on the basis of the Deuteronomic Code, as is proved by references in the Book of Malachi.[10] The "Book of the Law" said to have been transported by Ezra to Palestine and made the basis of civil and religious observance corresponds closely to the priestly code as we today find it in-

[8] R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1941), p. 829.

[9] Sukkah 20a, quoted by G. F. Moore, *Judaism* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1927), I, 614.

[10] See R. H. Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 614.

corporated in the present form of the Pentateuch. A modern Jewish scholar provides the following interpretation of the authority which this law code had for the Jewish community in this Persian province: "Ezra arrived in Jerusalem as a Persian commissioner with a royal letter placing 'the Law of thy God' on the same compulsory level as the law of the king, and threatening the offender of Mosaic precepts with death, banishment, confiscation of goods and imprisonment. In this way the perpetual character of the Torah was established and the Divine Law made known and imposed on all Jewry under the Persian scepter . . ."[11]

JUDAH IN THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C. We possess all too little information about the character of Jewish community life from the time of Nehemiah to Alexander's conquests. We do know that there was a Persian governor located in Jerusalem and that tribute was demanded of the population. Nevertheless, the Jews enjoyed a considerable degree of independence. They were a nation with a national home, a native language, and a large degree of self-rule as far as domestic affairs were concerned. The people were represented by the heads of the clans. As a matter of policy, however, the Persians favored the priestly class over the military aristocracy. This was consistent with the manner in which the Torah had been introduced as "the law of the Jews" by official decree in the period of Ezra. Priestly influence increased during the period following Nehemiah and through the fourth century. Nehemiah consistently distinguishes among "the priests, the nobles, the officials, and the rest" of the Jews (2:16; 4:14; 5:6). A century after Nehemiah a Greek traveler was told by a Jew that the Jews were ruled by priests. Josephus, who reports this statement, describes the Jewish community as a theocracy.

This, however, is somewhat misleading. It overemphasizes the influence of the priestly class upon the community as a whole. It can hardly be expected that the strict religious conformity proclaimed in the Books of Ezra and Nehe-

[11] E. J. Bickerman, in *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion*, ed. Louis Finkelstein (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), I, 73.

miah was adhered to in complete detail by the entire population of Judah. Archaeological discoveries have corrected this one-sided view based upon literary sources. On the basis of such evidence, it becomes clear that the Jewish community in the late Persian period was an integral part of a common Near Eastern culture combining Greek, Egyptian, and Asiatic elements. Greek trade in Palestine became so important in the fifth century B.C. that Athenian coinage became the principal basis of exchange in Palestine. By the fourth century imitations of the Athenian "owls" were being struck in Palestine for local use. "Used by pious Jews and even bearing the stamp of a Jewish agent of the Persian government (Hezekiah), these first Jewish coins show not only the owl of the Athenian model but also human figures, and even the image of a divinity seated on a winged wheel."[12] Objects of everyday use—kitchen pots, anklets worn by girls, military weapons, amulets—bear evidence of the varied origins, Greek, Egyptian, and Asiatic, of the common culture of this entire region under Persian rule. In fact, as E. J. Bickerman puts it, "being real men and not puppets like the characters portrayed in conventional textbooks, the Jews of the Restoration, like those of every generation, were entangled in contradictions and in conflicting patterns of real life."[13]

In a period usually identified with exclusivism, there were actually strong tendencies toward universalism. The writings of the Chronicler (Chron., Ezra, Neh.) reflect the complex character of the times, and it is significant that we find in Ezra 6:21 a statement about proselytes participating in the Passover meal. Similarly, in the late-written Priest Code, it is impressive to read that "there shall be one law for the native and for the stranger who sojourns among you" (Exod. 12:49); and "the stranger who sojourns with you shall be to you as the native among you, and you shall love him as yourself . . ." (Lev. 19:34). The other side of this friendliness toward the proselytes is the urgency with which the prophets, beginning with Second Isaiah, call upon Jews to share their

[12] E. J. Bickerman, *op. cit.*, I, 75.
[13] *Ibid.*

faith with the Gentile world: "For my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples" (Isa. 56:7).

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

The Elephantine Papyri, 450–400 B.C.

[These papyrus letters reflect the life of a Jewish military colony located on the island of Elephantine at the first cataract of the Nile, near the present Aswan. Egypt at this time was a province of the Persian Empire and Jewish mercenaries were stationed there to guard the southern boundary. The longest of the eight letters is a request addressed to Bagoas, governor of Jerusalem, for permission to rebuild the temple to Yahu, which had been destroyed in an outburst of anti-Semitic violence. From other published correspondence it is known that the Jews of Elephantine wrote letters to the high priest in Jerusalem and to the sons of Sanballat, former governor of Samaria, for assistance in rebuilding the temple. No reply was received from the former, but the rulers of Samaria and Bagoas, governor of Judah, recommended a petition to Arsham, the Persian satrap of Egypt. The letter to Bagoas is printed here. The most surprising letter is one listing contributions to the cult of Yahu and also to two other deities apparently worshiped along with Yahu in the temple at Elephantine.]

I

Request for Permission to Rebuild the Temple of Yahu[14]

To our lord Bagoas, governor of Judaea, your servants Yedoniah and his colleagues, the priests who are in the fortress of Elephantine. The welfare

of your lordship may the God of Heaven seek abundantly at all times, and give you favour before King Darius

and the court circles a thousand times more than at present, and

[14] D. Winton Thomas (ed.), *Documents from Old Testament Times* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1958), pp. 260–264 (parts).

may He grant you long life and may you be happy and prosperous at all times.

Now your servant Yedoniah and his colleagues depose as follows: In the month of Tammuz in the fourteenth year of King Darius when Arsames[15]

departed and went to the King, the priests of the god Khnub[16] in the fortress of Elephantine combined with Widrang, who was governor here,

saying: 'Let the temple of the God Yahu in the fortress of Elephantine be done away with.' Then Widrang, that

scoundrel, sent a letter to his son Nephayan, who was in command of the garrison in the fortress of Elephantine, saying, 'Let the temple which is in Elephantine,

the fortress, be destroyed.' Thereupon Nephayan led the Egyptians with the other troops. They came to the fortress of Elephantine with their weapons,

entered that temple, razed it to the ground, and broke the stone pillars which were there. Moreover five gateways

of stone, built with hewn blocks of stone, which were in that temple, they destroyed, and their doors were set up, and the hinges

of those doors were of bronze, and the roof of cedar wood, all of it, with the rest of the timber-work and other things which were there,

was entirely burned with fire, and the basins of gold and silver and everything whatsoever that was in that temple they took

And made their own. Our fathers built this temple in the fortress of Elephantine in the days of the Kings of Egypt, and when Cambyses[17] entered Egypt

he found that temple already built, and though all the temples of the Egyptian gods were destroyed, no one did any harm to that temple.

When this was done we, with our wives and children, put on sackcloth and fasted and prayed to Yahu, the Lord of Heaven,

who let us see our desire upon that hound Widrang.[18] The anklet was torn from his legs, and all the wealth he had acquired was lost, and all the men

who had sought to do harm to that temple were all killed, and we saw our desire upon them. Further, before this, at the time when this evil

15 Arsames, Persian governor of Egypt.
16 Khnub, an Egyptian god, usually spelled Khnum.
17 Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525 B.C.
18 A derogatory term, meaning "son of a dog."

was done to us, we sent a letter to your lordship and to the High Priest Johanan[19] and his colleagues the priests in Jerusalem and to Ostanes, the brother
of 'Anani, and the leaders of the Jews. They have not sent any letter to us. Moreover from the month of Tammuz in the fourteenth year of King Darius
until this day we have worn sackcloth and fasted. Our wives are made as widows, we do not anoint ourselves with oil,
and we drink no wine. Also from then till the present day, in the seventeenth year of King Darius, meal-offering and inc[en]se and burnt-offering
have not been offered in this temple. Now your servants Yedoniah and his colleagues and the Jews, all citizens of Elephantine, say:
'If it seems good to your lordship, take thought for that temple to rebuild it, since they do not permit us to rebuild it. Look upon your well wishers and friends here in Egypt. Let a letter be sent from you to them concerning this temple of the God Yahu
that it be rebuilt in the fortress of Elephantine as it was built before, and let meal-offering, incense and burnt-offering be offered
upon the altar of the God Yahu in your name, and we will pray for you continually, we, our wives, and our children and all the Jews
who are here, if it is so arranged that this temple be rebuilt, and it shall be a merit to you before Yahu, the God of
Heaven, greater than that of a man who offers Him a burnt-offering and sacrifices worth as much as a thousand talents of silver.' Now concerning gold, concerning this
we have sent and given instructions. Further we have set out the whole matter in a letter sent in our name to Delaiah and Shelemaiah, the sons of Sanballat the governor of Samaria.
Also Arsames knew nothing of all this that was done to us. Dated the twentieth of Marchesvan in the seventeenth year of King Darius.

II

Contributions to the Cult of Yaho[20]

On the 3rd of Phamenoth,[21] year 5. This is (sic!) the names of the

[19] Johanan, mentioned in Nehemiah 12:22 f.

[20] J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (2d ed.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), p. 491. This translation adopts the spelling "Yaho."

[21] Month of Egyptian year.

Jewish garrison which (sic!) gave money to the God Yaho, (2 shekels) each.

(Lines 2–119, 126–135 name 123 contributors of both sexes.)

(120–125) Cash on hand with Yedoniah the son of Gemariah on the said day of the month of Phamenoth: 31 *karash*, 8 shekels. Comprising: for Yaho 12 k.; 6 sh.,[22] for Ishumbethel[23] 7 k.; for Anathbethel[24] 12 k.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Account for the widespread dispersion of Jews in the ancient world.
2. Where were the three main centers of Jewish exile after 587 B.C. and what was the condition of Jewish religious life in each?
3. Why was it that the Judean exiles in Babylonia, rather than other Jews there or elsewhere, were capable of providing the leadership necessary for the survival of Jewish religious life?
4. What was the contribution of Second Isaiah?
5. How many Jews returned from Babylonian exile to Palestine? Why so few?
6. What probably happened to Zerubbabel?
7. What is the condition of the Jewish community as portrayed in the Book of Malachi (*c.* 500–475 B.C.)?
8. What is the significance of Ezra in the development of Jewish religious tradition?
9. What reasons are there for thinking that the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah present a somewhat one-sided picture of Jewish life in the Persian period?
10. Illustrate the mixed character of the common culture of Palestine and the entire Near East in the late Persian (fourth century) period.

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[22] One *karash* equals 20 (light) shekels. Therefore this is the correct total for a contribution of 2 shekels each from 123 contributors.

[23] Name of a god.

[24] Name of a goddess.

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Chapter 6

JUDAISM UNDER THE GREEKS (AND MACCABEES)

FROM PERSIAN TO GREEK RULE. The Persian Empire fell to Alexander the Great in 331 B.C. In 334 Alexander had won a victory over the generals of Darius at the River Granicus in Asia Minor, a victory which gave him control of the Greek cities of the western coast of Asia Minor. In 333 he overcame Darius himself at Issus, near modern Iskanderun, and began his march across Syria and Palestine toward Egypt. By 331 B.C. Alexander had conquered Egypt, founded the city of Alexandria, and, retracing his steps through Palestine and Syria, had turned eastward, defeated Darius again at Gaugamela and then occupied the Persian capitals at Babylon and Susa. Alexander then continued his advance until he had subdued the Punjab, now West Pakistan. After his victories in Asia, Alexander returned to Susa and set about making plans for the reorganization of his newly won empire, but he died in 323 before he could launch this ambitious project.

Alexander's death was followed by a struggle for control of his empire among his leading generals. The struggle was resolved in 301, when the eastern world was divided between Ptolemy, already *de facto* ruler of Egypt, and Seleucus, who received Syria and Persia as his domain, with Antioch on the Orontes as his capital city. Palestine remained under the rule of the Ptolemies of Egypt from 301 to 198 B.C., when Antiochus III wrested Palestine and Phoenicia away from Egyptian control and added them to his Syrian kingdom. Under the Ptolemies the Jews continued to exercise a considerable degree of self-government as they had under the Persians. The ruling power saw to it that tribute was collected. The high priest was head of the nation and was responsible for raising the tribute and the preservation of order.

He was assisted by a council of elders on which there were both lay leaders and representatives of the priesthood. The temple in Jerusalem was the visible center of national religious life and thousands of pilgrims thronged Jerusalem for the high holidays, such as the Day of Atonement. Increasingly, however, it came to be recognized that the Torah meant much more than the rites of the temple and was something to be studied and applied to the whole of life. This gave impetus to the development of the synagogue and schools.

THE SPREAD OF GREEK CULTURE. Life under Greek rule was much the same politically as it had been under the Persians. Culturally, it was a different matter. The difference lay in the missionary enthusiasm of Greeks as they traveled about the world whether on errands of trade or diplomacy. Hellenism, the cultural product of the Greek *polis,* was something of which every Greek was proud. Although Alexander himself had been a Macedonian and not a Greek, nevertheless his most enduring contribution was the impetus he gave to the diffusion of Greek culture throughout the vast area of his conquests. Alexander died and the political structure he had built fell to pieces, but the Greek culture he wished to propagate lived on with increasing influence.

The most effective method employed by Alexander and his successors for the propagation of Greek ways of life was the establishment of cities modeled after the Greek *polis.* The splendor of these Greek cities erected in close proximity to unimpressive native towns and villages must have furnished a strong even if silent testimony to the superiority of Greek civilization for many impressionable individuals in the Hellenistic world. These Greek cities of the dispersion displayed careful planning, with their wide, paved, and sometimes colonnaded streets lined with stately buildings. Every Greek city had open-air theaters for public recreation and gymnasia, the latter intended at first for physical training but soon becoming social centers and places for the exercise of the mind as well. And of course the Greek spirit and philos-

ophy of life accompanied these external institutions as the spirit giving life to the body. Even though the actual number of Greek cities planted in the world conquered by Alexander was necessarily limited in comparison to the number of native cities, towns, and villages, the Greek influence was not confined to the Greek cities themselves. There was a small Greek colony in many native towns and villages.[1] The gymnasium and its combination of physical training and social influence thus played an important part even in the hellenizing of Jerusalem in the time of Antiochus III and Antiochus IV.

HELLENISTIC JUDAISM. Alexandria in Egypt is a good example of the cultural influence of a Greek city in the Hellenistic world. Founded by Alexander himself, it came to be one of the great cultural centers of the Mediterranean world. Within two centuries of its establishment in 331 B.C., it had outstripped even Athens in cultural importance. It had the largest library in the world, housed in a royal museum where scholars of every nation were free to study. In this museum or library there were lecture halls and exhibition rooms and even living accommodations for philosophers and men of science.

Here in Alexandria the Greek dispersion met the Jewish dispersion and the effects were creative indeed. According to Josephus, Jews had been settled in Alexandria at the very time of the founding of the city and under the Ptolemies a special quarter of the city was set aside for them. This need not be taken to mean that Jews were restricted to this quarter, since Philo states that at a later time Jews lived and had synagogues in all parts of the city, although they were most numerous in two sections. Alexandrian Jews learned to use Greek as their mother tongue, and it was to meet the needs of these Greek-speaking Jews of Egypt that the Bible was translated into Greek, the so-called Septuagint, which in its turn became the Bible of the early Christians.

[1] See M. Rostovtseff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), II, 1059 ff. on Greek influence in Egypt of this period.

Alexandria furnishes striking examples of the impact of Greek culture upon the Jewish Dispersion (*Diaspora*) in certain Hellenistic Jewish writings which have survived to the present day, such as The Wisdom of Solomon, Fourth Maccabees, the philosophical writings of Philo of Alexandria, and the translation from the original Hebrew into Greek of the Book of Ecclesiasticus, originally known as The Wisdom of Ben Sira. The first-named book, The Wisdom of Solomon, may be taken as an example of the mixture of Judaism and Hellenism prevalent within Jewish writings of the age. The book is generally considered to have been composed in Greek by an Alexandrian Jew during the period between 150–50 B.C. The author reveals himself to be permeated by Jewish thought, but in a number of passages shows that he has been influenced by Greek philosophical language and ideas. Thus in 8:7 The Wisdom of Solomon lists the four cardinal virtues of Plato and the Stoics: wisdom, self-control, courage, and justice. Similarly, the author agrees with the Greek philosophers that the world was created out of formless matter (11:17). In 8:19 there appears to be a clear allusion to the Platonic doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul:

> I was a well-formed child,
> And a good soul fell to me,
> Or rather, I was good and entered an undefiled body.[2]

The influence of Greek upon Jewish thought makes itself most apparent in a negative way, in the attempt to show the superiority of divine wisdom, personified as a virtuous female figure, over the Greek-Epicurean ideal of human reason:

> I loved her and sought after her from my youth up,
> And I undertook to make her my bride,
> And I fell in love with her beauty.
> She glorifies her high birth in living with God,
> For the Lord of all loves her.
> For she is initiated into the knowledge of God,
> And is a searcher of his works.

[2] Edgar J. Goodspeed, *The Apocrypha, An American Translation* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1938), p. 193.

But if the possession of wealth is to be desired in life,
What is richer than wisdom, which operates everything?[3] (8:2–5)

In spite of the evident influences of Hellenism upon the author of The Wisdom of Solomon, it is plain that he remained basically loyal to Judaism. As Pfeiffer has claimed for the Septuagint, so we may of this writer and other Hellenistic Jewish authors: "As in the case of the Septuagint, so for the culture of the Alexandrian Jews in general, Hellenism is merely the garb of Judaism."[4] So, too, we may claim for the vast majority of Jews in the Dispersion—and in the period after Alexander Jews were to be found in every part of the Mediterranean world—they were on the whole faithful to their ancestral religion. Indeed, they had reason to be proud of it, as Paul later (Romans 2:17–20) claims they were. It represented the highest form of religious and ethical teaching in the ancient world.

HELLENISM AND PALESTINIAN JUDAISM. Hellenism exerted a strong influence upon the Jews of Judea as well as upon the Jews of the Dispersion. Jewish territory in Palestine of this period consisted only of one city, Jerusalem itself, and surrounding villages. Under the Seleucid rulers of Antioch, Judea was simply a tiny part of the province of Syria. The city of Jerusalem was practically surrounded by Greek cities such as Ascalon and Joppa on the west, Samaria, Scythopolis, and Gadara on the north, Gerasa and Philadelphia beyond Jordan to the east, and Marisa (Mareshah) to the south. In a Greek city like Marisa, for example, visiting Jews could see a great difference between the typical unplanned Oriental town and a typical Greek city with its fine, paved streets arranged in quadrangular blocks, ornamented by colonnades at important street junctions. In such a city there would be, of course, the usual gymnasium where Greek and Greek-minded youth exercised naked, a custom offensive to the traditional Jewish mores, yet one in which Jewish youths appear to have participated in cities of the Dispersion. At least we know that around 300 B.C. Seleucus I ordered money to be

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 192.
[4] R. H. Pfeiffer, *History of New Testament Times* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), p. 183.

given to Jews of Antioch who were unwilling to use pagan oil. Since oil was used for anointing the body in connection with athletic games, it seems probable that Jewish youth of this period were taking part in the Greek exercises.[5] Greeks, both civilian and military, wearing Greek cloaks and hats, must have become a familiar sight even in Jewish territory. Jews could not avoid participation in trade nor in the necessary administrative contacts with representatives of the ruling power. The Greek language became the language of trade and government. Increasingly, Greek ways of life found acceptance in Jewish circles.

The Book of Jubilees, coming probably from a Pharisaic Jew about the middle of the second century B.C., protests against the infiltration of Greek ways into Jewish life. The author puts especial emphasis upon the importance of the Jewish rites of circumcision and Sabbath observance. He speaks of parents "who will not circumcize their sons" and warns against appearing naked, a reference to participation in the Greek games.

The most important development within Jewish society of this period was the creation of the scribes as "a Jewish intelligentsia, different from the clergy and not dependent upon the sanctuary . . . 'Scribe,' if not simply penman, was the technical term for a public official who entered the civil service as a profession."[6] The scribe was not a lawyer serving an individual client, but an adviser to a ruling official. Since Jewish law was based upon the Torah, a foreign official needed guidance from someone familiar with the legal aspects of the Torah. The Torah, however, was also the basis of religious life. Thus the scribes came to have power not only as a kind of civil service, but also as religious authorities. They were the scholars whose word was supreme in the synagogues. Ben Sira of Jerusalem about 180 B.C. is a good example of such a scribe and teacher of future public servants. He has left us a description of the typical scribe which may be considered a self-portrait:

[5] E. J. Bickerman, in *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion*, ed. Louis Finkelstein (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), I, 91.

[6] E. J. Bickerman, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

It is not so with the man who applies himself,
And studies the Law of the Most High.
He searches out the wisdom of all the ancients,
And busies himself with prophecies;
He observes the discourse of famous men,
And penetrates the intricacies of figures.
He searches out the hidden meaning of proverbs,
And acquaints himself with the obscurities of figures.
He will serve among great men,
And appear before rulers.
He will travel through the lands of strange peoples,
And test what is good and what is evil among men.
He will devote himself to going early
To the Lord his Maker,
And will make his entreaty before the Most High. . . . (Ecclus. 39:1 ff.)

ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AND COMPULSORY HELLENISM. The voluntary adoption of Hellenism by considerable numbers of Jews continued even after 198 B.C., when the Seleucids became rulers of Palestine. Upon the accession of Antiochus IV as ruler of the Seleucid Empire, according to I Maccabees, "lawless men" arose out of Israel who sent a delegation to make a treaty with the new king in Antioch. II Maccabees makes it clearer who these Hellenizers were. In II Maccabees 4:7 ff. we learn that Jason, brother of the high priest, Onias, obtained the high priesthood by promising Antiochus "three hundred and sixty talents of silver and eight talents from other revenues." According to this same source, Jason also established a gymnasium close to the citadel of Jerusalem and encouraged the wearing of the Greek hat, a symbol of Hellenism. We learn from the same writer that members of the priesthood greeted the new ways with enthusiasm and even hurried through the ceremonials of the Temple to witness the wrestling and discus throwing going on in the nearby gymnasium. After a time Jason was replaced by a rival who had outbid him, Menelaus by name, but the policy of collaboration continued.

Voluntary adoption of Hellenism might have won the day had this policy continued. However, the course of events led Antiochus IV to adopt a more radical, and, as it turned

out, ill-advised strategy. In 168 B.C. Antiochus undertook a second successive campaign against Ptolemaic Egypt, but unexpectedly found himself opposed by a legate of the Roman Senate, Popilius Laenas. Laenas on behalf of the Senate ordered him to abandon his aggression against Egypt or be regarded as an enemy of Rome. When Antiochus requested time to consider the matter, the Roman envoy took his staff and drew a circle in the sand around Antiochus' feet; he then ordered him to consider the matter there and then. Although humiliated, Antiochus had no choice but to withdraw. Meantime, behind Antiochus' back, intrigue had been brewing in Jerusalem, where there apparently existed opposing parties, pro-Egyptian and pro-Syrian. Inspired possibly by a rumor of Antiochus' death (II Macc. 5:5–8), Jason, the former high priest, counting no doubt upon the support of the pro-Egyptian party, attempted a return to power and actually succeeded in gaining temporary control of Jerusalem with the aid of a force of a thousand men. Menelaus had to take refuge in the citadel.

Rebuffed at the frontier of Egypt and angered by the report of rebellion in Jerusalem, Antiochus IV now thrust aside his previous restraint. On the way back to Antioch, he turned aside to Jerusalem, plundered the Temple, and massacred many of the people. Jason fled and Menelaus was restored to the office of high priest. A year or two later, in 168 or 167 B.C., Antiochus embarked upon a drastic, new policy of compulsory Hellenism. The ancient part of Jerusalem, the so-called City of David where the royal citadel existed, was strongly garrisoned with Syrian troops. The Temple was converted to the worship of the "Olympian Zeus" (II Macc. 6:2), called in I Maccabees "the abomination of desolation" (1:54). Additional measures included the prohibition of Sabbath observance and other festivals, defiling and mutilating the books of the Law, a ban on circumcision, and the death penalty for anyone disobeying the new regulations. Positive measures included the erection of Greek altars throughout the country and the public performance of Greek rites as a symbol of loyalty. I Maccabees 1:41 makes it ap-

pear that these measures were applied through all of Antiochus' kingdom and that the purpose was merely that of establishing unity within the realm. This was not actually the case, as Bickerman has shown.[7] There was no uniformity of religious practice throughout the Syrian kingdom. What was happening to the Jews was persecution directed at a single people.

THE MACCABEAN REVOLT. The response of Jews to persecution was varied. Some had no basic loyalty to ancestral ways and promptly went over to the other side. The leaders of the Hellenizing party, who had thought in terms of compromise, of some working relationship between Hellenism and Judaism, had now little choice but to conform. Those who chose to resist did so at first in a passive and unorganized manner. In I Maccabees 1:62 f. we read that some chose to die rather than to violate the dietary law. The Hasidim (the "Pious" or "Loyal Ones," from whom both the Pharisees and Essenes may have sprung) at first adopted passive resistance and continued to observe the requirements of the Law. A thousand of them who had fled to the desert submitted to death rather than to violate the Law by defending themselves when attacked on the Sabbath (I Macc. 2:31–38). The martyrdom of these faithful sons of the Law inspired the moving legend of the seven brothers, recorded in II Maccabees 7. The spirit of the Hasidim is also well portrayed in 3:17–18 of Daniel, a book inspired by the Maccabean crisis and undoubtedly composed by a Hasid. After the slaughter of the thousand on the Sabbath, the Hasidim joined the Maccabees for a time in violent resistance to Hellenizers, but when religious freedom had been won, they resumed their original pacifism.

The actual deliverance of the Jews from religious persecution came at the hands of Mattathias, village priest of Modin, and his five sons. Josephus calls Mattathias the son of Asmoneus, which explains the frequent reference to the descendants of Mattathias as Hasmoneans. Royal officers came to Modin, located sixteen miles northwest of Jerusalem, and

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 107.

asked Mattathias to set an example for the people by being the first to obey the king's commandment. When Mattathias refused, a villager stepped forward and was about to offer sacrifice when Mattathias killed him. The aged priest then killed the royal commissioner and pulled down the pagan altar, after which he uttered the words which became the watchword of the Maccabean rebellion: "Whosoever is zealous for the law, and maintaineth the covenant, let him follow me" (I Macc. 2:27). Mattathias and his five sons thereupon fled to the mountains and began to organize resistance. Mattathias himself was an old man and survived only a year, after which active leadership passed to the hands of his son, Judas Maccabaeus (from the Hebrew word *makkabi,* meaning the "hammerer").

It is not our purpose to describe the Maccabean struggle in detail. Suffice it to say that in four battles fought against heavy odds, Judas regained religious freedom for the Jews. The Syrian rulers withdrew the proscription against observance of Jewish religious practices, and on the twenty-fifth day of Kislev (December), 165 B.C., the Temple was rededicated, an event now commemorated in the Festival of Hanukkah, or the Feast of Lights. Today in Jewish homes a candle is lighted on the first day of Hanukkah and an additional candle is lighted for each day of the eight-day festival to commemorate the rededication of the Temple.

Antiochus IV, whose actions had precipitated the Maccabean rebellion, died in 165 B.C. and it might have been expected that resistance would cease, the original objective having been accomplished. Indeed, the Hasidim did withdraw from further violence at this point and returned to their former policy of passive resistance to Hellenization. The Maccabean party, however, was not satisfied with religious freedom alone, but was now intent upon the achievement of political independence as well. Judas eventually lost his life in a hopeless battle between eight hundred of his followers against a Syrian force of twenty thousand foot soldiers and two thousand horsemen led by the general Bacchides. Jonathan succeeded Judas as leader, and after much fighting and

political maneuvering gained recognition from Alexander Balas, one claimant to the Syrian throne, as legitimate high priest of the Jews. Simon, the next Maccabean brother to accede to leadership, succeeded in winning political as well as religious independence. In 142 B.C. he forced the surrender of the Syrian citadel in Jerusalem, and in 141 B.C. the Jewish people conferred upon him and his descendants both political and religious authority as priest-kings.

JUDAISM UNDER MACCABEAN RULE. Simon was the last surviving Maccabean brother. Under his rule Demetrius, king of Syria, remitted the tribute and the long desired political independence of Judah was legalized. It became the custom for Jews to date documents "In the first year of Simon . . ." Even Simon, however, was to meet the same violent death which had overtaken his brothers. He was murdered by his son-in-law, Ptolemy, who hoped to rule in his place. John Hyrcanus, Simon's son, managed to escape the murderer's hired assassins and secured for himself the place of priest-king, ruling for a full generation (134–104 B.C.). During the rule of John Hyrcanus, Judah lost her political independence for a time as a result of renewed aggression from Syria, but regained it in 129 B.C. upon the death of the oppressing ruler, Antiochus Sidetes. John Hyrcanus was succeeded by his son, Aristobulus, who conquered Galilee but lived to rule only one year. He was succeeded by his brother, Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.), under whom the Maccabean kingdom reached its widest limits, regaining all the territories ever included within the boundaries of the ancient Hebrew empire. This was accomplished, however, at the cost of bitter internal strife and ultimately, civil war. Alexander Jannaeus finally crushed his opponents and undertook brutal retaliation against them, crucifying eight hundred of those who had taken up arms against him. Upon Alexander's death in 76 B.C., he was succeeded by his queen, Alexandra, who ruled until 67 B.C., when a struggle for the succession broke out between her sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. Their separate appeals for help to Pompey, who had just broken the power of the Syrian kingdom, eventuated in Pompey's arrival in

Jerusalem in 63 B.C. and seizure of Palestine for the Roman Empire, thus ending the independent Maccabean kingdom.

Marred as it was by the perennial struggle for power among the Maccabean rulers themselves, in addition to the never ceasing attempts of Syrian rulers to re-establish sovereignty over the little kingdom of the Jews, the Maccabean period was nevertheless one of cultural and religious creativity. The religious crisis occasioned several important books which have survived to the present day. The best record of the events themselves is found in I Maccabees, written about 100 B.C. and reflecting the viewpoint of the Maccabean party. The Book of Daniel, contemporary with the religious crisis of the early Maccabean period, offers a valuable insight into the mind of a writer whose interest was purely religious in character. The Book of Esther, written at a somewhat later time than Daniel when the issue of religious and political freedom no longer hung in the balance, mirrors the spirit of those desiring revenge upon the enemies of the movement for independence. Many of the Psalms were clearly inspired by the stress and strain, as well as the fulfilment, offered in this period of Jewish life.

Religious movements came to birth in this period which were to shape the patterns of Jewish thought and action until the end of the national state in A.D. 70, and, in the case of Pharisaism, down to the present day. In a passage describing the religious life of the Jews after the death of Herod the Great in 4 B.C., Josephus refers to three "sects of philosophy" which had been in existence by that time "for a great while," namely, the Essenes, the Sadducees, and the Pharisees. Elsewhere, Josephus mentions a "fourth sect of philosophy," the Zealots, of later origin than the others. All of these religio-political parties will be described in chapter 8, but a reference should be made here to recent discoveries of ancient scrolls and of the ruins of an Essene monastery near the northwest shore of the Dead Sea, since they throw new light on the Maccabean period of Jewish history.

AN ESSENE MONASTERY. The Essenes have previously been known only through literary sources: the writings of

Josephus, of Philo of Alexandria, and, of Pliny the Elder.[8] Josephus (b. A.D. 37–38, d. after A.D. 100) and Philo (20 B.C. –A.D. 60) both state that Essenes existed in different communities throughout Palestine and totalled four thousand in number. Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79) describes them as a monastic community located on the northwest shore of the Dead Sea. Now we have archaeological confirmation from the finding of Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947 and succeeding years, and from the excavation of the nearby Qumran monastery ruins beginning in 1951. The finding of this ancient Essene monastery has been described as "perhaps the most sensational archaeological discovery of recent years. . . ."[9]

The Qumran monastery was located on a slight eminence overlooking the Dead Sea, backed by a line of sandstone cliffs which form the perimeter of the semi-desert, so-called Wilderness of Judah. The monastic settlement may have been founded early in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.) whose character parallels the description given in the Scrolls of the "Wicked Priest." The "Teacher of Righteousness," an idealized figure who is mentioned often in the Scriptures of this community, may have been the founder of the group and was, at least, an early leader who stamped a firm impression upon the life and character of the movement. The maximum number of monks living at any one time at Qumran is estimated to have been about two hundred, in view of the approximately twelve hundred burials found in the cemetery near the main building. The visitor to the site today is particularly impressed by the elaborate water system, including a tunnel and aqueducts by means of which rain falling in the rainy season and rushing down the usually dry Wadi Qumran was conveyed to the cisterns now visible among the foundation ruins of the monastery. One of these cisterns or pools was equipped with an elaborate staircase, which suggests its use for ritual baptisms that appear to have been a prominent feature of the religious life of the Qumran

[8] See Appendix A for descriptions of Essenes in ancient literature.

[9] G. E. Wright and F. V. Filson, *The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956), p. 82.

community. W. F. Albright finds in these frequent lustrations evidence of Mesopotamian influence, even origin, of this sectarian group:

> It seems probable that the Essenes represent a sectarian Jewish group which had migrated from Mesopotamia to Palestine after the victory of the Maccabees. This would explain . . . the frequent lustrations (hygienically necessary in Iraq, but not in Palestine), as well as their prayer to God for sunrise, performed daily before dawn, facing eastward, since all of these points were characteristic of Mesopotamian practice. Moreover, it is easier to explain their refusal to take part in sacrificial ritual if they had come from a region so far from Jerusalem that performance of sacrifices was physically impossible at the time when their beliefs were crystallized. The relatively great ceremonial significance of lustration with water in Mesopotamian ritual has been repeatedly emphasized; and it is now known that the Euphrates was the center of a cult of water traceable in the Upper Euphrates Valley from about 2800 B.C. to the third century A.D. . . .[10]

This theory of origins conflicts with the more common view that the Essenes originated from the Hasidim or "Pious" of early Maccabean times, just as seems to have been the case with the Pharisees.[11] Nevertheless, a strong case may be made for Mesopotamian (Persian) influence both upon the practice and the thought of these People of the Scrolls.

The Qumran monastery was a self-sustaining community, complete with flour mills, storage bins, ovens, a pottery works, a large assembly room, a scriptorium (as indicated by a long writing-table found broken among the ruins), and the other necessities of such community life. Ink pots were found near the writing table, suggesting that here in the scriptorium scribes made copies of the scrolls later deposited in the caves along the cliff front in back of the monastery. The main building measured 121 feet square. As many as four hundred coins of various periods were found which have aided in dating the history of occupation of the site. Other evidence for

[10] *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (2d ed.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1957), p. 376.

[11] W. F. Stinespring, in a review of Frank M. Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical studies*, remarks: "both of us like the etymology [of Essenes] from Syriac ḥasê (= Heb. ḥasîdh)." See *Journal of Bible and Religion*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1 (Jan. 1959), p. 57.

dating includes the style of writing of the scrolls, the design of pottery, examination of cloth by the carbon-14 process, and the character of the masonry. From this evidence it seems probable that the monastery was founded as early as 100 B.C. and, save for the period 31–5 B.C. when an earthquake destroyed most of it, was occupied continuously until A.D. 68, when it was destroyed by the Roman Tenth Legion. As many as two hundred caves in the general vicinity have now been searched, and fifteen of them have yielded ancient manuscripts or fragments of manuscripts.

The chief result of the study of the scrolls and the monastery ruins, as far as Jewish religious history is concerned, has been to force scholarly recognition that there was a much greater variety of religious thought and practice in the Palestinian Jewish community before A.D. 70 than was the case in the rabbinical community of the centuries following the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple at the hands of the Romans. The new knowledge gives promise also of throwing considerable new light upon the origin and early development of Christianity, about which more will be said elsewhere.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

Descriptions of the Essenes in Ancient Literature

I

Philo of Alexandria[12]

[Philo of Alexandria (*c.* 20 B.C.–*c.* A.D. 50) devoted himself chiefly to an allegorical interpretation of the Pentateuch. However, he was an eyewitness of important contemporary events and reports some of them. His book *De Legatione ad Caium* is an account of his embassy to Rome *c.* A.D. 40 when he made representa-

[12] *Philo* (Loeb Classical Library, Vol. IX [Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1951]), 75–87.

tions for the Jews of Alexandria about privileges they had lost because of their refusal to worship Caligula. *Quod omnis probus liber* (That Every Good Person Is Free) is a work of Philo's youth in which he gives an interesting account of the Essenes. His book on the contemplative life, *De vita contemplativa,* deals with the life of the Therapeutae, a similar order of ascetics in Egypt.]

Palestinian Syria, too, has not failed to produce high moral excellence. In this country live a considerable part of the very populous nation of the Jews, including as it is said, certain persons, more than four thousand in number, called Essenes. Their name, which is, I think, a variation, though the form of the Greek is inexact, of *hosiotes* (holiness), is given them, because they have shown themselves especially devout in the service of God, not by offering sacrifices of animals, but by resolving to sanctify their minds. The first thing about these people is that they live in villages and avoid the cities because of the iniquities which have become inveterate among city dwellers, for they know that their company would have a deadly effect upon their own souls, like a disease brought by a pestilential atmosphere. Some of them labour on the land and others pursue such crafts as cooperate with peace and so benefit themselves and their neighbours. They do not hoard gold and silver or acquire great slices of land because they desire the revenues therefrom, but provide what is needed for the necessary requirements of life. For while they stand almost alone in the whole of mankind in that they have become moneyless and landless by deliberate action rather than by lack of good fortune, they are esteemed exceedingly rich, because they judge frugality with contentment to be, as indeed it is, an abundance of wealth. As for darts, javelins, daggers, or the helmet, breastplate or shield, you could not find a single manufacturer of them, nor, in general, any person making weapons or engines or plying any industry concerned with war, nor, indeed, any of the peaceful kind, which easily lapse into vice, for they have not the vaguest idea of commerce either wholesale or retail or marine, but pack the inducements to covetousness off in disgrace. Not a single slave is to be found among them, but all are free, exchanging services with each other, and they denounce the owners of slaves, not merely for their injustice in outraging the law of equality, but also for their impiety in annulling the statute of Nature, who mother-like has borne and reared all men alike, and created them genuine brothers, not in mere name, but in very reality, though this kinship has been put to confusion by the triumph of malignant covetousness, which has wrought estrangement instead of affinity and enmity instead of friendship. As for philosophy they abandon the logical part to quibbling verbalists as unnecessary for the acquisition of virtue, and the physical to vision-

ary praters as beyond the grasp of human nature, only retaining that part which treats philosophically of the existence of God and the creation of the universe. But the ethical part they study very industriously, taking for their trainers the laws of their fathers, which could not possibly have been conceived by the human soul without divine inspiration. In these they are instructed at all other times, but particularly on the seventh days. For that day has been set apart to be kept holy and on it they abstain from all other work and proceed to sacred spots which they call synagogues. There, arranged in rows according to their ages, the younger below the elder, they sit decorously as befits the occasion with attentive ears. Then one takes the books and reads aloud and another of especial proficiency comes forward and expounds what is not understood. For most of their philosophical study takes the form of allegory, and in this they emulate the tradition of the past. They are trained in piety, holiness, justice, domestic and civic conduct, knowledge of what is truly good, or evil, or indifferent, and how to choose what they should and avoid the opposite, taking for their defining standards these three, love of God, love of virtue, love of men. Their love of God they show by a multitude of proofs, by religious purity constant and unbroken throughout their lives, by abstinence from oaths, by veracity, by their belief that the Godhead is the cause of all good things and nothing bad; their love of virtue, by their freedom from the love of either money or reputation or pleasure, by self-mastery and endurance, again by frugality, simple living, contentment, humility, respect for law, steadiness and all similar qualities; their love of men by benevolence and sense of equality, and their spirit of fellowship, which defies description, though a few words on it will not be out of place. First of all, then, no one's house is his own in the sense that it is not shared by all, for besides the fact that they dwell together in communities, the door is open to visitors from elsewhere who share their convictions. Again they all have a single treasury and common disbursements; their clothes are held in common and also their food through their institution of public meals. In no other community can we find the custom of sharing roof, life and board more firmly established in actual practice. And that is no more than one would expect. For all the wages which they earn in the day's work they do not keep as their private property, but throw them into the common stock and allow the benefit thus accruing to be shared by those who wish to use it. The sick are not neglected because they cannot provide anything, but have the cost of their treatment lying ready in the common stock, so that they can meet expenses out of the greater wealth in full security. To the elder men too is given the respect and care which real children give to their parents, and they receive from countless hands and minds a full and generous maintenance for their latter years.

II

Pliny the Elder[13]

[Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79) was a Roman naturalist, a friend and fellow-soldier of Vespasian. His one surviving work is the *Natural History,* one paragraph of which is quoted below.]

On the west side of the Dead Sea, but out of range of the noxious exhalations of the coast, is the solitary tribe of the Essenes, which is remarkable beyond all the other tribes in the whole world, as it has no women and has renounced all sexual desire, has no money, and has only palm-trees for company. Day by day the throng of refugees is recruited to an equal number by numerous accessions of persons tired of life and driven thither by the waves of fortune to adopt their manners. Thus through thousands of ages (incredible to relate) a race in which no one is born lives on for ever: so prolific for their advantage is other men's weariness of life.

III

Josephus on the Sects of the Jews[14]

[Josephus (A.D. 37–*c.* 100) was a Jewish historian who wrote in Greek for a Roman audience. Born in Jerusalem, the son of Mattathias, a priest with Pharisaic views, Josephus was made commander of the Jewish forces in Galilee during the first year of the Jewish war against Rome (A.D. 66–70). As a military leader he displayed ability, but when his forces were outnumbered and destroyed, he surrendered himself to the Roman general, Vespasian, whose favor he won and whose name, Flavius, he took for his own. He was given his freedom in A.D. 69 and gained fame as historian of the Jewish people. His first work, *On the Jewish War,* in seven books, was written in Aramaic for the Jews of Babylonia, but Josephus was later encouraged to translate this work into Greek and it is this version which has survived. Josephus' second work, *Antiquities of the Jews,* in twenty volumes, is an expansion of his account of the Jewish War, covering the entire period of Jewish history from the earliest beginnings down to the outbreak of the Jewish War in A.D. 66. Josephus also wrote a work on anti-Semitism, called *Against Apion,* and an autobiography, *The Life of Flavius Josephus,* which describes in more detail than elsewhere his activi-

[13] *Pliny's Natural History,* ed. H. Rackham, (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1942), Loeb Classical Library, V, xv, 73.

[14] *Antiquities of the Jews,* XVIII, i, 2–8.

ties as governor of Galilee in A.D. 66–67. Josephus' motive as a historian, as he himself states (*Antiquities*, XVI, vi, 8) was apologetic, namely, to interpret Jewish history in a favorable light to Greek-speaking people. The following account of the Jewish sects is taken from the *Antiquities of the Jews.*]

The Jews had for a great while had three sects of philosophy peculiar to themselves, the sect of the Essens, and the sect of the Sadducees, and the third sort of opinions was that of those called Pharisees; of which sects, although I have already spoken in the second book of the Jewish war, yet will I a little touch upon them now.

Now, for the Pharisees, they live meanly, and despise delicacies in diet, and they follow the conduct of reason; and what that prescribes to them as good for them, they do; and they think they ought earnestly to strive to observe reason's dictates for practice. They also pay a respect to such as are in years; nor are they so bold as to contradict them in anything which they have introduced; and when they determine that all things are done by fate, they do not take away the freedom from men of acting as they think fit; since their notion is, that it hath pleased God to make a temperament, whereby what he wills is done, but so that the will of man can act virtuously or viciously. They also believe, that souls have an immortal vigor in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again; on account of which doctrines, they are able greatly to persuade the body of the people, and whatsoever they do about divine worship, prayers, and sacrifices, they perform them according to their direction; insomuch, that the cities give great attestations to them on account of their entire virtuous conduct, both in the actions of their lives, and their discourses also.

But the doctrine of the Sadducees is this, That souls die with the bodies; nor do they regard the observation of anything besides what the law enjoins them; for they think it an instance of virtue to dispute with those teachers of philosophy whom they frequent; but this doctrine is received but by a few, yet by those still of the greatest dignity. But they are able to do almost nothing of themselves; for when they become magistrates, as they are unwillingly, and by force sometimes obliged to be, they addict themselves to the notions of the Pharisees, because the multitude would not otherwise bear them.

The doctrine of the Essens is this, That all things are best ascribed to God. They teach the immortality of souls, and esteem that the rewards of righteousness are to be earnestly striven for; and when they send what they have dedicated to God into the temple, they do not offer sacrifices, because they have more pure lustrations of their own; on which account they are excluded from the common

court of the temple, but offer their sacrifices themselves; yet is their course of life better than that of other men; and they entirely addict themselves to husbandry. It also deserves our admiration, how much they exceed all other men that addict themselves to virtue, and this in righteousness; and indeed to such a degree, that as it hath never appeared among any other men, neither Greeks nor barbarians, no not for a little time, so hath it endured for a long while among them. This is demonstrated by that institution of theirs, which will not suffer anything to hinder them from having all things in common; so that a rich man enjoys no more of his own wealth than he who hath nothing at all. There are about four thousand men that live in this way; and neither marry wives, nor are desirous to keep servants: as thinking the latter tempts men to be unjust, and the former gives the handle to domestic quarrels; but as they live by themselves, they minister one to another. They also appoint certain stewards to receive the incomes of their revenues, and of the fruits of the ground; such as are good men and priests; who are to get their corn and their food ready for them. They none of them differ from others of the Essens in their way of living, but do the most resemble those Dacae, who are called Polistae, [dwellers in cities].

But of the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy, Judas the Galilean was the author. These men agree in all other things with the Pharisaic notions; but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say, that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord. They also do not value dying any kinds of death, nor indeed do they heed the deaths of their relations and friends, nor can any such fear make them call any man lord. And since this immoveable resolution of theirs is well known to a great many, I shall speak no farther about that matter; nor am I afraid that anything I have said of them should be disbelieved, but rather fear that what I have said is beneath the resolution they show when they undergo pain. And it was in Gessius Florus' time that the nation began to grow mad with this distemper, who was our procurator, and who occasioned the Jews to go wild with it by the abuse of his authority, and to make them revolt from the Romans. And these are the sects of Jewish philosophy.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. How did the conditions of Jewish life under Greek rule differ from that under the Persians?
2. What features of Greek civilization proved most attractive to Jews and other non-Greeks in the Hellenistic world?

3. Illustrate the influence of Greek thought upon Jewish literature in the Dispersion.
4. Give some examples of the infiltration of Greek ways of life and thought into Palestinian Judaism.
5. Why did Antiochus IV attempt to uproot Judaism and substitute Greek ways of worship in Jewish Palestine?
6. Who were the Hasidim?
7. Name the chief leaders of the Maccabean revolt and indicate what each contributed to Jewish independence.
8. What were some cultural and religious products of the Maccabean period?
9. Discuss the origin and history of the Essene community at Qumran.
10. Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, what did we know of the Essenes from ancient writings?

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

ALLEGRO, J. M. *The Dead Sea Scrolls.* Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1956. Best of the paperbacks on the Scrolls.

ANDERSON, B. W. *Understanding the Old Testament.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957. A good survey of both history and literature of Persian, Greek, and Maccabean periods of Jewish life, with brief account of discovery of Dead Sea Scrolls.

BARON, S. W. *A Social and Religious History of the Jews,* 2d ed. 8 vols. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1952. Vol. I, chap. vi has good background discussions of Jewish dispersion (pp. 185–187), Classical anti-Semitism (pp. 188–195), and Philo Judaeus (pp. 199–207).

BRIGHT, JOHN. *A History of Israel.* Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959. Chap. xi, pp. 395–412, provides a well-documented, critical summary of Judaism in the Hellenistic period.

BURROWS, MILLAR. *The Dead Sea Scrolls.* New York: The Viking Press, 1956. Chap. xv gives a good statement of the religious importance of the discovery of the scrolls to Judaism and Christianity. On pp. 349–415 the author translates parts of five scrolls.

———. *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls.* New York: The Viking Press, 1958. Part II gives an expanded account of the religious significance of the scrolls under such headings as "John the Baptist," "The Teaching of Jesus," "Paul, John and the Rest of the New Testament." Part VI summarizes the beliefs of the sect at Qumran.

CROSS, FRANK MOORE, JR. *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1958. Chap. v contains a good comparison of "The Essenes and the Primitive Church."

FARMER, WILLIAM REUBEN. *Maccabees, Zealots, and Josephus.* New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1956. A good evaluation of the writings of Josephus and survey of Jewish nationalism, with special bearing on New Testament period.

FINKELSTEIN, LOUIS (ed.). *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1949. E. J. Bickerman in chap. ii provides much original material on Hellenistic period, including an excellent account of creation of Scribes as "a Jewish intelligentsia" (pp. 97–99).

_____. *The Pharisees.* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1940. A sociological approach.

GASTER, THEODOR H. *The Dead Sea Scriptures.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1956. A brief introduction to the Dead Sea Scrolls and a translation of all seven scrolls found in Cave I.

GOTTWALD, N. K. *A Light to the Nations. An Introduction to the Old Testament.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1959. Chap. xiii on "Reconstruction under the Hellenists" surveys both history and writings of period, including a study of the Psalms (pp. 503–514), plus a section on "Intertestamental Judaism."

MOORE, GEORGE FOOT. *Judaism in the First Three Centuries of the Christian Era.* Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1937–30. Vol. I, chap. v gives excellent account of rise of the Pharisees.

PFEIFFER, ROBERT H. *History of New Testament Times. With an Introduction to the Apocrypha..* New York: Harper & Bros., 1949. Detailed survey of intertestamental period.

Chapter 7

JUDAISM UNDER THE ROMANS

THE HOUSE OF HEROD. Antipater, founder of the Herodian dynasty, is described by Josephus as "by birth an Idumean, and one of the principals of that nation on account of his ancestors and riches, and other authority to him belonging" (*On the Jewish War*, I, vi, 2). Antipater gained a toehold in Jewish affairs by supporting Hyrcanus II against Aristobulus II in the last days of the Maccabean kingdom. After 63 B.C., when Pompey seized Palestine for Rome, Hyrcanus II was made high priest and ethnarch, but Antipater really ran the country and made it a point to please the Roman authority.

Antipater, and later his son, Herod, held as their cardinal political principle always to be on the winning side, and they were eminently successful here. When Julius Caesar defeated Pompey at Pharsala in 48 B.C., Antipater succeeded in gaining Caesar's favor by giving Caesar material aid in certain campaigns, especially that against Egypt. When Caesar had settled affairs in Egypt and returned to Syria, he gave Antipater the privileges of Roman citizenship, which included freedom from taxes, and various other honors; he also reconfirmed Antipater's protégé, Hyrcanus II, in the post of high priest. At the same time Caesar appointed Antipater procurator of Judea, and Antipater in his turn made his son Phasaelus governor of Jerusalem, and another son, Herod, governor of Galilee.[1] There is some difficulty in distinguishing clearly the division of authority between the religious and the political authorities at this point. At one place (*On the Jewish War*, I, x, 3), Josephus says that Caesar gave Antipater permission to rebuild the walls of the Jewish cities that had

[1] See Appendix A for Josephus' report of Herod's activities as governor of Galilee.

been torn down, but elsewhere (*Antiquities of the Jews*, XIV, viii, 5) Josephus states that Caesar "gave Hyrcanus leave to raise up the walls of his own city," an inconsistency that Whiston, the editor of Josephus' writings, dismisses by remarking that it all came to the same thing in the end, since Antipater "afterward made a cipher of Hyrcanus."

Antipater's son, known to history as "Herod the Great," possessed the political acumen of his father. By his friendship with Mark Antony and with the consent of Octavian (later known as Augustus Caesar), Herod obtained the title "King of Judaea" and ruled the country from 40 to 4 B.C. When later the onetime friends, Antony and Octavian, had a falling-out and Octavian defeated the combined sea and land forces of Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C., Herod succeeded in retaining the favor of the winner, Octavian. Herod tried to ingratiate himself also with the Jewish people. By marrying Mariamne, granddaughter of Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II, Herod associated himself with the Maccabean dynasty.[2] Furthermore, in the fifteenth year of his reign Herod commenced the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem, an enterprise which was still in process forty-six years later in the time of Jesus (John 2:20) and which was not actually finished until after A.D. 62.

In spite of his attempts to placate his Jewish subjects, Herod never succeeded in gaining their full support. Herod was in actuality king of the Jews, but not a Jewish king. The people referred to him disparagingly as a "half-Jew." The way in which he catered to Augustus and aped Roman ways made it only too clear where his basic loyalty lay. Moreover, his lavish expenditures were made possible largely by oppression and robbery of his subjects. The political restlessness under the rule of Herod and his successors was, in fact, as much economic as it was political.

In his will Herod divided his kingdom among his three sons, naming Archelaus king of Judea, Antipas tetrarch[3] of

[2] See Appendix B for Josephus' account of Herod's court and family life.

[3] Literally, governor of one-quarter of a Roman province, but loosely, ruler of a small district.

Galilee, and Philip tetrarch of the northeastern portion of Herod's domain. This will was subsequently confirmed by Augustus, except that he gave Archelaus the title of ethnarch[4] rather than king of Judea. When Archelaus was removed from office for misgovernment in A.D. 6,[5] Judea became a Roman province and was governed by a series of Roman procurators until A.D. 41. Upon the death of Herod Philip in A.D. 34, his tetrarchy was added to the province of Syria. In A.D. 37 the first act of Caligula as emperor was to give the former territory of Philip to Herod Agrippa I as his kingdom, to which were added the tetrarchy of Antipas in 39 and the ethnarchy of Archelaus in 41, so that from A.D. 41–44 Herod Agrippa I ruled over the entire kingdom of Herod the Great with the exception of Iturea. From the time of the death of Herod Agrippa I in A.D. 44, all of Palestine was ruled as a province of Rome under a procuratorship.

SOCIAL UNREST AND MESSIANIC HOPES. As long as Herod the Great lived, he was able to present to his Roman overlords an appearance of stable government. The complaints of the Jewish people to Rome concerning Archelaus revealed what they thought about the entire Herodian dynasty. The petitioners were successful to the extent that Archelaus was banished in A.D. 6 and Judea was made a Roman province for a generation under Roman procurators (A.D. 6–41). However, the hopes of the Jews for milder treatment under direct Roman rule were quickly dashed. The first action of the Roman government was to call for a census and general evaluation of property for tax purposes. New taxes were imposed and new methods of raising taxes devised. This led to much popular excitement. It should be kept in mind that these Roman taxes were superimposed upon already existing Jewish taxes for the support of the priesthood and the Temple. This ecclesiastical taxation itself was burdensome, and the addition of the newly announced civil taxes may well have seemed to the people both an outrage and an impossible

[4] Etymologically, ruler of a people.

[5] See Appendix C for Josephus' account of deputation of Jews to Rome to accuse Archelaus.

burden. This was an important factor in first century unrest in Palestine, not sufficiently emphasized by Josephus, who blames the hatred of Rome entirely on the stubborn Jewish feeling for independence, hatred of foreign domination, and fanatical loyalty to the ancient Jewish ideal of theocratic rule.

Jewish discontent increased rather than lessened with the passage of time. Indeed, pessimism and despair became increasingly widespread throughout the Roman Empire.[6] Augustus died in A.D. 14, but even before his death the optimism of the early Augustan age had disappeared. Subject nations had learned how burdensome the *pax Romana* was to be. After Augustus each succeeding emperor seemed inferior to the last. The irresponsible dictatorships of Caligula (A.D. 37–41) and Nero (A.D. 54–68) deprived the imperial office of whatever respect it once had held. Even such a loyal Roman as the historian Tacitus reveals a thoroughgoing pessimism about the future of civilization.

It is not surprising then that religious and political tension among the Jewish people should have encouraged speculation about a Redeemer or Messiah who should rescue the nation from its oppressors. The hope for a Messiah took a variety of forms, but two basic types may be distinguished. One of these was national and political, the hope for a day when the glories of the past should be revived under the leadership of an earthly king, a descendant of David. The Psalms of Solomon, written about the first century B.C., gives eloquent expression to this hope of a "Son of David" type of Messiah. At the other extreme there was what is called the "apocalyptic hope." The classic example of apocalyptic writing among the canonical books of the Bible is the Book of Daniel, written out of the despair of those living under the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes. The literary method of Daniel and of later apocalyptic writers was to describe visions, which were usually credited to some ancient worthy to whom God had revealed the final outcome of world history. In these writings we find that the scene has shifted

[6] S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (2d ed.; Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Soc. of America, 1952), II, 57 ff.

from earthly history to a great cosmic judgment at the end of history. The conception of the Messiah, too, has changed from that of an idealized human king, descended from David, to that of a supernatural being such as the "Son of Man" in the Book of Enoch, a composite document written over the second and first centuries B.C.

It should not be thought that Messianic speculation was limited to these two types. At times attention centered upon the Messianic Age without reference to a personal Messiah. All sorts of variations upon and combinations of the two basic patterns, sometimes garbed in the most extravagant symbolism, may be found in religious writings of the period. But the common unifying feature of these varied writings was a firmly held belief in God as the ultimate ruler of history.

RELIGIOUS PARTIES AND THEIR RESPONSE TO ROMAN RULE. The religious parties of the time present as varied a picture as the religious writings which have survived. Josephus lists Essenes, Sadducees, Pharisees, and Zealots. The New Testament names Scribes, Pharisees, Sadducees, Herodians, Zealots, Galileans, Sicarii, Samaritans, and the Disciples of John the Baptist, but even this list is not complete. Talmudic literature refers to numerous small groups or "splinter parties," each of which "was firmly persuaded of its monopoly of universal truth, and was certain that the coming of the Messiah depended on the general acceptance of its beliefs." These groups included "the ascetic Essenes, the anti-ecclesiastic New Covenanters, the Morning Bathers, the Water Drinkers, the Worshipers at Sunrise, and, it is said no less than a score of other tiny but determined sects and societies."[7]

A comparative study of the more important groups will give a cross section of Jewish life. The vital issue for all of them was the policy to be adopted toward Rome and the associated Graeco-Roman culture.

Originating as members of a famous priestly family, the Sadducees had come to include those who shared the views of this hereditary group as well as those in active control of

[7] Louis Finkelstein, *The Pharisees* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Soc. of America, 1940), I, 8–9.

the Temple. They were never a large group—certainly they were fewer than the Pharisees—and they enlisted no support from the masses of the people. Their membership was drawn largely from the upper classes, including wealthy landowners. Just as they had always taken the side of the Hasmonean rulers, so under the Romans the Sadducees were willing and eager to collaborate with those in power. They had everything to gain and nothing to lose from the preservation of the *status quo*.

Little is known specifically about the Herodians. They were not a religious party nor even an organized political group. They belonged to the social aristocracy and probably originated, as the name suggests, as supporters of Herod the Great. After the deposition of Archelaus in A.D. 6 and the institution of government in Judea by procurators, the Herodians sought the return of rule to a member of the Herodian family. In Galilee they were zealous supporters of Herod Antipas (Mark 3:6). They appear in the gospels as ardent advocates of Caesar's authority (Mark 12:13; Matthew 22:16). As pro-Herodian, they no doubt favored the spread of Greek culture and supported Roman rule.

The Essenes, numbering four thousand, according to Josephus and Philo, lived a life of complete withdrawal from the secular world and followed a policy of non-interference with the ruling power. According to Josephus (*Jewish War*, II, viii, 7), the novice in his oath of initiation undertook "to keep faith towards all, especially towards the authorities; for it is always through the will of God that power falls to man."

The Pharisees followed a flexible policy in their political relationships. They were willing to support political rulers when such collaboration was likely to advance their religious principles. In the reign of Queen Alexandra (76–67 B.C.), they had given their active support to the political leadership. When it became necessary, however, the Pharisees could present a very firm opposition. Josephus calls attention to this when he speaks of the "Pharisees, who were in a capacity of greatly opposing kings" (*Antiquities*, XVII, ii, 4). This was their position during the period of the rule of Herod the

Great, Josephus reports, for they refused to take the oath of loyalty to Caesar and to the king's (Herod's) government. Yet they did not advocate active political opposition, either toward the Herodian dynasty or toward Rome. To the Pharisees religion and the freedom of religious observance were primary, politics secondary.

In the time of Herod the Great, according to Josephus, the Pharisees numbered six thousand; but this statement is misleading and does not accurately reflect the real extent of influence of the Pharisees upon the religious life of Jewish Palestine. Baron points out that Josephus uses the figure six thousand to refer only to those Pharisees who refused to take the double oath of loyalty to Herod and Caesar. Since these were office-holders of some kind, the number probably excludes many thousands of other Pharisees in the land.[8] Finkelstein also argues for a much higher total, suggesting that "since the organization admitted only men, and presumably only those who were self-supporting and had families, we may take it that the 6,000 affiliated members represented an actual following of 30,000 souls,"[9] of whom about two-thirds lived in Jerusalem and one-third in the countryside. In any case, one should not underestimate the influence of the Pharisees outside Jerusalem.

> . . . while the Pharisees doubtless converted the peasants to their ideas, the tiny Jewish villages were so compact and united that formal organization inside of them was a superfluity. The strength of Pharisaism on the land could not, therefore, be judged from the numbers of organized adherents it had; every synagogue was its forum, and every prayer service its meeting. The peasant might hesitate to accept the rigorous discipline of the Pharisaic laws of purity which gave the sect its name, yet he agreed with their doctrine of resurrection, and willingly followed those customs which were not too burdensome.[10]

The Pharisees were thus the dominant religious party and were widely respected for their earnestness and loyalty to religious tradition.

[8] *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, II., 36.
[9] Finkelstein, *The Pharisees*, p. 609.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 609–10.

At the opposite extreme from collaborationists like the Sadducees and Herodians were the Zealots, who were an offshoot of the Pharisaic party. Says Josephus: "These men agree in other things with the Pharisaic notions; but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty and they say that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord" (*Antiquities,* XVIII, i, 6). They hardly constituted a religious sect, even though Josephus labels them a "fourth sect of Jewish philosophy"; nor is Josephus any more accurate in terming them robbers, murderers, and inciters to violence. As their name implies, they were zealous fanatics whose Messianic ardor committed them to armed revolution. Theirs was the temperament of men who will storm the Kingdom of God by violence. Their fanaticism made them regardless of their own lives, and some of their extremists known as *Sicarii,* or "dagger men," did not hesitate to advance their cause by murder whether of Romans or of Jews who opposed them. The Zealots were essentially patriots, largely unorganized, who arose from time to time throughout the period of Roman rule in Palestine to resist foreign rule. Their impetuous leadership was largely responsible for the national disaster of A.D. 70.

Finally, there were the *Am Ha-aretz* or "people of the land." The name has a long history.[11] Originally the meaning was simply "people of the soil," but by the time of which we are speaking it was equivalent to "ignorant." Judaism was based upon a study and knowledge of the written and oral Law which were not available to the countryman. Nor did the rural villager and farmer have the time to observe the requirements of the ceremonial Law, even if he had the knowledge. Thus the men learned in the Law were often contemptuous toward the unlearned. Yet it must be remembered that a genuine piety was possible even in simple homes without the benefit of the learning of the Scribes and Pharisees.

TEMPLE AND SYNAGOGUE. By the Roman period the synagogue had become the vital center of Jewish religious life, although the Temple in Jerusalem was still the great show-

[11] See Finkelstein, *op. cit.,* pp. 25–36.

place of the nation. By order of Herod the Great the rebuilding of the Temple had been begun in 20 B.C. and the main structure had been completed in eighteen months. The manual labor was done by priests especially trained in the crafts of stone cutters and carpenters so that profane hands might not desecrate the sacred building. Everything seemed to conspire in favor of the rapid completion of the work. Josephus states: "It is also reported that during the time that the Temple was building, it did not rain in the daytime, but that the showers fell in the night, so that the work was not hindered" (*Antiquities,* XV, xi, 7). However, the completion of various auxiliary buildings, cloisters, and other construction work was not accomplished until after A.D. 62, only a few years before the final destruction of the Temple by Titus.

The Temple of Herod was the pride of world Jewry and a great center of pilgrimage from all parts of the world. Philo of Alexandria who had made the pilgrimage, said that "countless multitudes from countless cities came, some over land, others over sea, from east and west and north and south at every feast." The Temple faced eastward so that the first rays of the sun might enter the holy of holies on equinoctial dates. The exterior of Herod's Temple was made of white stone much ornamented with gold. Josephus describes vividly its dazzling beauty when flooded by the light of the sun rising over the Mount of Olives:

> Now the outward face of the temple in its front wanted nothing that was likely to surprise either men's minds or their eyes; for it was covered all over with plates of gold of great weight, and, at the first rising of the sun, reflected back a very fiery splendour, and made those who forced themselves to look upon it, to turn their eyes away, just as they would have done at the sun's own rays. But this temple appeared to strangers, when they were coming to it at a distance, like a mountain covered with snow, for, as to those parts of it that were not gilt, they were exceeding white. (*Jewish War* V, v.)

The grandeur of the Temple can be gauged to some extent by the size of the present Haram esh-Sherif (the sacred enclosure of the Muslims containing the Dome of the Rock, the Mosque El-Aksar, and other buildings and open courts),

rule was returned to a member of the Herodian family, Herod Agrippa I having been named King of Judea by Caligula and his rule confirmed and kingdom expanded by Claudius. Upon the death of Herod Agrippa in A.D. 44 Judea (and all of Palestine) was converted into a Roman province, subject directly to the emperor in Rome, and was ruled by a second series of procurators until the year A.D. 66, the date of the outbreak of the war against Rome.

In the perspective of history, it is hard to see how an open break could have been avoided, taking into account both the character of Roman rule and the resistance of the Jewish people to oppression, particularly when their religious sensibilities were offended. Judea was a long distance from Rome and the procurators were virtually independent rulers. Many of them were greedy and reckless men whose chief aim was to enrich themselves in as short a time as possible. Tiberius made it a policy to keep the same governor in the same place a considerable length of time "out of regard to the subjects that were under them; for that all governors are naturally disposed to get as much as they can, and that those who are not to fix there, but to stay a short time, and that an uncertainty, when they shall be turned out, do the more severely hurry themselves on to fleece the people . . ."[16] Two of the first series of procurators, Gratus (A.D. 15–26) and Pontius Pilate (A.D. 26–36) ruled a considerable length of time. Many of the second series ruled very briefly and provocatively.

Jewish resistance against Roman rule had arisen as early as Roman rule over Jewish Palestine. It is probable that Ezekias, described by Josephus as a ringleader of robbers in Galilee in the early part of the reign of Herod the Great, was in reality a religious patriot and leader of resistance to foreign rule.

In A.D. 6 Judas the Galilean led an uprising that was brutally suppressed:

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which occupies approximately the same site. The wall surrounding the Haram esh-Sherif measures 1601 feet on the west, 1530 on the east, 1024 on the north, and 922 on the south. Herod had constructed an east wall so broad that it was able to contain a double system of halls with a synagogue, shops, booths for sacrificial animals, and money-changers' tables. It was also in this area that the Sanhedrin, the ecclesiastical council of the Jews, had its meeting place.

Over this vast and costly establishment presided the priests who succeeded to their offices by hereditary right as determined by precise genealogical records. Estimates of the number of priests and Levites (assistants to priests, temple servants) connected with the temple range from eighteen to twenty-five thousand, constituting about three per cent of the Jewish population of Palestine and one or two per cent of the Jewish world population.[12] A relatively small minority of the priesthood controlled the wealth and the privileges deriving from the Temple. "At least 10,000 . . . were Levites while the majority of the remainder were priests of a lower order, who, no less than the lay masses, resented the excesses of the few influential families at the top."[13] Members of the priesthood served the temple only at stated times, of course. The majority of them lived in or near Jerusalem, however, and had little influence upon the religious life of the countryside. The few priests and Levites who did live in the rural regions had as their chief duty to collect the *terumah* (a tax specifically for the maintenance of the priesthood) and the tithe, which was rigorously exacted. It is not surprising that the farmers looked to the synagogue and to the scribes for their spiritual guidance rather than to these tax-collecting representatives of the temple.

Synagogues were to be found in every town and village of Palestine. The Christian gospels refer familiarly to synagogues in Nazareth and Capernaum as places where Jesus taught. Ruins of synagogues in other ancient towns and villages have been found at Chorazin, two miles above Caper-

[12] Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, Vol. I, pp. 272, 413–30.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 272.

naum, at Bethsaida-Julias, east of the River Jordan near the point at which it enters the Lake of Galilee, and at Beth Alpha in the Jezreel valley, to mention only a few. In the city of Jerusalem synagogues abounded. There were as many as 480 according to one account and 394 according to another. The New Testament Book of Acts (6:9) names synagogues of the Freedmen, of the Cyrenians, of the Alexandrians, and of those from Cilicia and Asia. In the light of such evidence it is plainly to be seen that the synagogue was a vital institution in the religious life of the people.

However, as Moore has pointed out, the synagogue had in the course of its development changed character somewhat since its obscure beginnings.[14] It had originated as a voluntary assembly for study and prayer. Now it had become a public institution, usually occupying a substantial edifice built by the community or by some wealthy individual such as the Roman centurion mentioned in Luke 7:5. The synagogue no longer existed merely as a substitute for the Temple to meet the needs of Jews far from Jerusalem. It had achieved an independent status for itself as a place of worship of a new and distinctive type, worship without sacrifices and offerings, but with a strong emphasis upon instruction in religion.

> The consequence of the establishment of such a rational worship for the whole subsequent history of Judaism was immeasurable. . . . Nor is it for Judaism alone that it had this importance. It determined the type of Christian worship, which in the Greek and Roman world of the day might otherwise easily have taken the form of a mere mystery; and, in part directly, in part through the church, it furnished the model to Mohammed. Thus Judaism gave to the world not only the fundamental ideas of these great monotheistic religions but the institutional forms in which they have perpetuated and propagated themselves.[15]

THE WAR AGAINST ROME. After A.D. 6 Judea was ruled by a series of Roman procurators, subject to the legate of the Roman province of Syria. During a brief interlude (A.D. 41–44)

[14] G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Three Centuries of the Christian Era* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1927), I, pp. 114 f., 284–285.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 285.

rule was returned to a member of the Herodian family, Herod Agrippa I having been named King of Judea by Caligula and his rule confirmed and kingdom expanded by Claudius. Upon the death of Herod Agrippa in A.D. 44 Judea (and all of Palestine) was converted into a Roman province, subject directly to the emperor in Rome, and was ruled by a second series of procurators until the year A.D. 66, the date of the outbreak of the war against Rome.

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[16] Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVIII, vi, 5.

In the reign of Fadus the procurator (A.D. 44–48), according to Josephus, a leader named Theudas appeared:

> Now it came to pass; while Fadus was procurator of Judea, that a certain magician, whose name was Theudas, persuaded a great part of the people to take their effects with them, and to follow him to the river Jordan; for he told them he was a prophet, and that he would, by his own command, divide the river, and afford them an easy passage over it; and many were deluded by his words. However, Fadus did not permit them to take any advantage of his wild attempt, but sent a troop of horsemen out against them: who, falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many of them, and took many of them alive. They also took Theudas alive, and cut off his head, and carried it to Jerusalem. (*Antiquities,* XX, v, 1)

Similarly, in the time of the procurator Felix (A.D. 51–60), another leader of resistance appeared, called by Josephus "an Egyptian":

> Moreover, there came out of Egypt about this time to Jerusalem, one that said he was a prophet, and advised the multitude of the common people to go along with him to the Mount of Olives, as it was called, which lay over against the city, and at the distance of five furlongs. He said, further, that he would show them from hence, how, at his command, the walls of Jerusalem would fall down; and he promised them, that he would procure them an entrance into the city through those walls, when they were fallen down. Now, when Felix was informed of these things, he ordered his soldiers to take their weapons, and came against them with a great number of horsemen and footmen from Jerusalem, and attacked the Egyptian and the people that were with him. He also slew four hundred of them, and took two hundred alive . . . But the Egyptian himself escaped out of the fight, but did not appear any more . . . (*Antiquities,* XIX, viii, 7)

A minor episode involving religious rivalries provided the spark that lighted the final conflagration. The episode, which took place in the rule of Florus, is described in detail by Josephus (*Jewish War,* II, xiv, 4–5). One thing led to another. It did not help matters that Florus plundered the Temple treasury of seventeen talents, nor that some of the Jewish youth mocked Florus by marching through the streets and taking up an offering for the apparently needy Florus! Florus in his turn let loose a detachment of soldiers who

plundered part of the city and slaughtered a large number of men, women, and children. Florus even ordered some high-ranking Jews who possessed Roman citizenship to be whipped and then crucified, contrary to Roman law (*Jewish War,* II, xiv, 9). Florus now demanded as a sign of submission that the people of the city go out to greet two cohorts of Roman soldiers who were marching up from Caesarea. After much persuasion by the priests and other leading citizens had convinced them that this was the only way to forestall a disastrous war, large numbers of Jews did salute the Roman soldiers. The Roman soldiers, however, had been instructed in advance not to respond in kind and this incited the hotheads among the Jews to insult them. Rioting and mass slaughter followed, although Florus was outnumbered and had to withdraw his troops for the time being.

There was still a chance that war could be prevented. Herod Agrippa II, ruler of Judea, now a kingdom comprising the earlier tetrarchy of Herod Philip plus parts of Galilee and Perea, warned the Jews, and with some initial response, that war with Rome would be disastrous. But when he also insisted that they obey Florus until Caesar should send a successor, the proposal was violently rejected. Jewish forces representing the war party seized Masada, a fortress near the Dead Sea, and exterminated the Roman garrison there. Their next move, to end the customary sacrifice for the emperor in the Temple, amounted to a declaration of war.

Now the Jewish leaders belonging to the peace party, including the high priestly families, leading Pharisees, and members of the Herodian family, turned to Agrippa for leadership. With the assistance of three thousand of Agrippa's cavalry, they seized possession of the upper city while the war party occupied the Temple area and the lower city. However, Agrippa's forces were not able to hold the upper city and by agreement were permitted to leave. The war element tracked down the high priest, Hananiah, and killed him. Then a Roman cohort which had held out in the Herodian palace was promised security if it would surrender its arms. After this surrender, however, the Romans were set upon by

a band of Jewish insurgents and, according to Josephus, all were killed except the cohort's leader Metillius, who promised to turn Jew. This barbarous act was in Josephus' words "a prelude to the Jews' own destruction." The war was on.

The war lasted four years. Indeed, the last stronghold of the Jews, Masada, did not fall into Roman hands until April, A.D. 73. The Jews fought with fanatical courage, but there never was any real doubt of the outcome. Rome was a stronger and more skillful adversary than the Syrian kingdom had been at the time of the Maccabean uprising. Moreover, the Jews were divided among themselves. There were many who sincerely advocated peace with Rome, and not merely the socially prominent and wealthy whose self-interests would have been best served by preserving the *status quo*. Johanan ben Zakkai, the pupil of Hillel, did not believe that Judaism would be saved by the war-to-the-bitter-end policy of the Zealots. The Nazarenes, those who accepted Jesus as Messiah, withdrew from Jerusalem at the outbreak of the war against Rome and settled in Pella, on the east side of the Jordan River. There were several Zealot groups, each with its own leader, and each seeking to exterminate the others. "Why was the first Temple destroyed?" inquires the Talmud. "Because three things . . . idolatry, unchastity, and murder (were rampant). But why the second Temple? Were they not diligently studying Torah and fulfilling religious commandments and practising loving kindness? Why then was it destroyed? Because of mutual hatreds, all without cause."[17]

The defense of Galilee was entrusted to Joseph, son of Mattaniah, whom we know as Josephus the historian. By the end of A.D. 67 Galilee had been lost and Josephus had surrendered to the Romans. Vespasian, the Roman commander, set about the subjugation of the Jews in a leisurely manner, thinking perhaps to let the Jews wear themselves out by internecine fighting. Vespasian conquered most of the Jordan

[17] Yoma 9b, quoted by Judah Goldin in *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion,* ed. Louis Finkelstein (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), I, 142–143.

area in the winter of A.D. 68 and the Judean lowlands and Idumea in the spring of that year. The death of Nero in June, 68, and the subsequent murder of the new emperor Galba in January, 69 caused a delay in Vespasian's plans. In June, 69, Vespasian set out to complete the subjugation of Judea; all Palestine was now in the hands of the Romans with the exception of Jerusalem and the three fortresses, Herodium, Machaerus, and Masada. In July, 69, Vespasian was proclaimed emperor and hastened to Rome. His son, Titus, took over the task of capturing Jerusalem, reaching the location shortly before the Passover of A.D. 70. On the 17th of Tammuz (June-July) the morning and evening sacrifices had to be discontinued. On the 9th of Ab (July-August) the gates were destroyed by fire and the conflagration spread to the Temple. In the month of Ellul (August-September) the upper city was finally captured and the victory was complete. Jerusalem was razed to the ground. The three fortresses remaining to the Jews—Herodium, Machaerus, and Masada—fell one by one, and in April, A.D. 73, the war with Rome was ended.

Tradition has it that when the situation in the city became hopeless, the Pharisee Johanan ben Zakkai had himself smuggled out of Jerusalem in a coffin and taken to the Roman camp where he petitioned Vespasian that he and his disciples might take refuge in the city of Jabneh (Jamnia) and there establish an academy. The petition was granted. And thus, although Jerusalem perished, Judaism survived.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

The Early Fame of Herod as Governor of Galilee[18]

Now Herod was an active man, and soon found proper materials for his active spirit to work upon. As therefore he found that Hezekias, the head of the robbers, ran over the neighbouring parts of

[18] Josephus, *On the Jewish War*, I, x, 5.

Syria with a great band of men, he caught him and slew him with many more of the robbers with him; which exploit was chiefly grateful to the Syrians, insomuch that hymns were sung in Herod's commendation, both in villages and in the cities, as having procured their quietness, and having preserved what they possessed to them; on which occasion he became acquainted with Sextus Caesar, a kinsman of the great Caesar, and president of Syria. A just emulation of his glorious actions excited Phasaelus also to imitate him. Accordingly, he procured the good-will of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, by his own management of the city affairs, and did not abuse his power in any disagreeable manner; whence it came to pass, that the nation paid Antipater the respects that were due only to a king, and the honours they all yielded him were equal to the honours due to an absolute lord; yet did he not abate any part of that good-will or fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

Appendix B

Herod's Court and Family Life[19]

However, fortune was avenged on Herod in his eternal great success, by raising him up domestic troubles, and he began to have wild disorders in his family on account of his wife, of whom he was so very fond. For when he came to the government, he sent away her whom he had before married when he was a private person, and who was born at Jerusalem, whose name was Doris, and married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus; on whose account disturbances arose in his family, and that in part very soon, but chiefly after his return from Rome. For first of all, he expelled Antipater the son of Doris, for the sake of his sons by Mariamne, out of the city, and permitted him to come thither at no other times than at the festivals. After this he slew his wife's grandfather, Hyrcanus, when he was returned out of Parthia to him, under this pretence, that he suspected him of plotting against him. Now this Hyrcanus had been carried captive to Barzapharnes, when he overran Syria; but those of his own country beyond Euphrates were desirous he would stay with them, and this out of the commiseration they had for his condition; and had he complied with their desires, when they exhorted him not to go over the river to Herod, he had not perished, but the marriage of his granddaughter (to Herod) was his temptation; for as he relied upon him, and was over-fond of his own country, he came back to it. Herod's provocation was this, not that Hyrcanus made any attempt to gain the kingdom, but that it was fitter for him to be their king than for Herod.

[19] Josephus, *On the Jewish War,* I, xxii.

Now of the five children which Herod had by Mariamne, two of them were daughters, and three were sons; and the youngest of these sons was educated at Rome, and there died; but the two eldest he treated as those of royal blood, on account of the nobility of their mother, and because they were not born till he was king. But then what was stronger than all this, was the love he bore to Mariamne, and which inflamed him every day to a great degree, and so far conspired with the other motives, that he felt no other troubles on account of her he loved so entirely. But Mariamne's hatred to him was not inferior to his love to her. She had, indeed, but too just a cause of indignation, from what he had done, while her boldness proceeded from his affection to her; so she openly reproached him with what he had done to her grandfather Hyrcanus, and to her brother Aristobulus; for he had not spared this Aristobulus, though he were but a child, for when he had given him the high priesthood at the age of seventeen, he slew him quickly after he had conferred that dignity upon him; but when Aristobulus had put on the holy vestments, and had approached to the altar, at a festival, the multitude, in great crowds, fell into tears; whereupon the child was sent by night to Jericho, and was there dipped by the Galls, at Herod's command, in a pool till he was drowned.

For these reasons Mariamne reproached Herod, and his sister and mother, after a most contumelious manner, while he was dumb on account of his affection for her: yet had the women great indignation at her, and raised a calumny against her, that she was false to his bed: which thing they thought most likely to move Herod to anger. They also contrived to have many other circumstances believed, in order to make the thing more credible, and accused her of having sent her picture into Egypt to Antony, and that her lust was so extravagant, as to have thus showed herself, though she was absent, to a man that ran mad after women, and to a man that had it in his power to use violence to her. This charge fell like a thunderbolt upon Herod, and put him into disorder; and that especially, because his love to her occasioned him to be jealous, and because he considered with himself that Cleopatra was a shrewd woman, and that on her account Lysanias the king was taken off, as well as Malichus the Arabian: for his fear did not only extend to the dissolving of his marriage, but to the danger of his own life.

When, therefore, he was about to take a journey abroad, he committed his wife to Joseph, his sister Salome's husband, as to one who would be faithful to him, and bore him good-will on account of their kindred; he also gave him a secret injunction, that if Antony slew him, he would slay her. But Joseph, without any ill design, and only in order to demonstrate the king's love to his wife, how he could not bear to think of being separated from her, even by death itself, dis-

covered this grand secret to her; upon which, when Herod was come back, and as they talked together, he confirmed his love to her by many oaths, and assured her that he had never such an affection for any other woman as he had for her. "Yes" (says she,) "thou didst, to be sure, demonstrate thy love to me by the injunctions thou gavest Joseph, when thou commandedst him to kill me."

When he heard that this grand secret was discovered, he was like a distracted man, and said, that Joseph would never have disclosed that injunction of his, unless he had debauched her. His passion also made him stark mad, and leaping out of his bed, he ran about the palace after a wild manner; at which time his sister Salome took the opportunity also to blast her reputation, and confirmed his suspicion about Joseph; whereupon out of his ungovernable jealousy and rage, he commanded both of them to be slain immediately; but as soon as ever his passion was over, he repented of what he had done, and, as soon as his anger was worn off, his affections were kindled again. And, indeed, the flame of his desires for her was so ardent, that he could not think she was dead, but would appear under his disorders to speak to her as if she were still alive, till he were better instructed by time, when his grief and trouble, now she was dead, appeared as great as his affection had been for her while she was living.

Appendix C

Deputation of Jews to Rome to Accuse Archelaus[20]

But now came another accusation from the Jews against Archelaus at Rome, which he was to answer to. It was made by those ambassadors, who, before the revolt, had come, by Varus' permission, to plead for the liberty of their country; those that came were fifty in number, but there were more than eight thousand of the Jews at Rome who supported them. And when Caesar had assembled a council of the principal Romans in Apollo's temple, that was in the palace, (this was what he had himself built and adorned at a vast expense) the multitude of the Jews stood with the ambassadors, and on the other side stood Archelaus, with his friends: but as for the kindred of Archelaus, they stood on neither side; for to stand on Archelaus' side, their hatred to him, and envy at him, would not give them leave; while yet they were afraid to be seen by Caesar with his accusers. Besides these, there were present Archelaus' brother Philip, being sent hither beforehand out of kindness by Varus for two reasons; the one was this, that he might be assisting to Archelaus; and the other was this, that in case Caesar should make a distribution of what Herod possessed among his posterity, he might obtain some share of it.

[20] Josephus, *On the Jewish War,* II, vi, 1–3.

And now, upon the permission that was given the accusers to speak, they in the first place went over Herod's breaches of their law, and said, "that he was not a king, but the most barbarous of all tyrants, and that they had found him to be such by the sufferings they underwent from him; that when a very great number had been slain by him, those that were left had endured such miseries, that they call those that were dead happy men; that he had not only tortured the bodies of his subjects, but entire cities, and had done much harm to the cities of his own country, while he adorned those that belonged to foreigners, and he shed the blood of Jews, in order to do kindness to those people who were out of their bounds; that he had filled the nation full of poverty and the greatest iniquity, instead of that happiness and those laws which they had anciently enjoyed; that, in short, the Jews had borne more calamities from Herod in a few years, than had their forefathers during all that interval of time that had passed since they had come out of Babylon, and returned home, in the reign of Xerxes; that, however, the nation was come to so low a condition, by being inured to hardships, that they submitted to his successor of their own accord, though he brought them into bitter slavery; that accordingly they readily called Archelaus, though he was the son of so great a tyrant, king, after the decease of his father, and joined with him in mourning for the death of Herod, and wishing him good success in that his succession; while yet this Archelaus, lest he should be in danger of not being thought the genuine son of Herod, began his reign with the murder of three thousand citizens; as if he had a mind to offer so many bloody sacrifices to God for his government, and to fill the temple with the like number of dead bodies at that festival: that, however, those that were left after so many miseries, had just reason to consider now at last the calamities they had undergone, and to oppose themselves like soldiers in war, to receive those stripes upon their faces (but not upon their backs, as hitherto). Whereupon they prayed that the Romans would have compassion upon the (poor) remains of Judea, and not expose what was left of them to such as barbarously tore them to pieces, and that they would join their country to Syria, and administer the government by their own commanders, whereby it would (soon) be demonstrated that those who are under the calumny of seditious persons, and lovers of war, know how to bear governors that are set over them, if they be but tolerable ones."

So Caesar, after he had heard both sides, dissolved the assembly for that time; but a few days afterward, he gave the one half of Herod's kingdom to Archelaus, by the name of Ethnarch, and promised to make him king also afterward, if he rendered himself worthy of that dignity. But as to the other half, he divided it into two tetrarchies, and gave them to two other sons of Herod, the one of them

Philip, and the other to that Antipas who contested the kingdom with Archelaus. Under this last was Perea, and Galilee, with a revenue of two hundred talents; but Batanea, and Trachonitis, and Auranitis, and certain parts of Zeno's house about Jamnia, with a revenue of a hundred talents, were made subject to Philip: while Idumea, and all Judea, and Samaria, were parts of the ethnarchy of Archelaus, although Samaria was eased of one quarter of its taxes, out of regard to their not having revolted with the rest of the nation. . . .

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. How did Antipater, founder of the Herodian dynasty, establish himself in Palestinian politics?
2. In what way, according to Josephus, did Herod (later called Great) make a reputation for himself?
3. Why did Herod the Great never gain the full support of his Jewish subjects?
4. What two basic patterns may be distinguished within the variety of Messianic speculation among the Jews of this period?
5. What was the policy of the following groups in relation to Roman power: Sadducees, Herodians, Essenes, Pharisees, and Zealots?
6. Why did the "people of the land" look to the Pharisees and the Synagogue for spiritual guidance and not to the priesthood and the Temple?
7. Describe the changing role of the Synagogue in Jewish life and the character of worship which had developed in the Synagogue by the Roman period.
8. Was the break with Rome and its attendant losses really inevitable?

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Chapter 8

THE WORLD OF THE TALMUD

A New Religious Center. The war against Rome ended in disaster. Jerusalem was razed to the ground except for a few towers and the walls enclosing the city on the west which were preserved to protect the Roman garrison stationed in the ruined city. The destruction of Jerusalem was a double catastrophe, for it meant the loss both of a national capital and a national religious center. As if to remind Jews that this loss was irrevocable, the Roman government now required that the shekel tax paid by every Jew for the support of the temple in Jerusalem should be replaced by a special tax, the "Fiscus Judaicus," for the maintenance of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome.

Social disorganization now threatened. It is reasonable to believe that the population had been sharply reduced by war and the ravages of disease, even if one does not take literally Josephus' claim that "eleven hundred thousand" perished in the siege of Jerusalem alone. Many (Josephus says ninety-seven thousand) were taken captive and large numbers of these were sold into slavery. Other thousands chose this bitter time to swell the ranks of the Jews in dispersion. Among those who remained the Pharisees were the only pre-war party of the Jews to survive. With the disappearance of the Temple and its revenues, the priestly aristocracy lost its function and wealth, and with these its place of authority in the community. The wealthy landowning nobility that had resided in Jerusalem disappeared as a class, although a few individuals survived and succeeded in reclaiming their country estates. The Sadducees, as a consequence of the general social disruption and the difficulty of adjusting to changed conditions, were reduced from their once-powerful status to a small heretical sect. Many

Zealots died during the war and others fled to neighboring countries like Egypt and Cyrene in the hope of continuing the struggle from those outposts, while those who remained in Palestine were passive and dispirited. The Essenes, too, failed to survive the disaster of A.D. 70, although such religious attitudes as theirs never completely disappear. The responsibility for both civil and religious leadership was now handed to the Pharisees.

The outstanding Pharisaic leader of the period immediately after the fall of Jerusalem was Johanan ben Zakkai. He had supported the war against Rome only half-heartedly, having no faith in the power of arms to preserve what was essential to Judaism. During the course of the fighting he had tried to persuade the war parties to surrender to Rome. In the year 69 Johanan, with some of his disciples, succeeded in making his way through the closely guarded gates of Jerusalem to the camp of Vespasian and with the latter's consent established himself in Jabneh, a small city near the coast, a few miles south of Jaffa.

Here in the onetime Philistine city of Jabneh (II Chron. 26:6), this farsighted, elderly Pharisee and his disciples began the process of establishing a new center for religious and community life. In this new community scholars became the leaders, reminiscent in a way of Plato's vision of the ideal Republic and its philosopher-kings. The study of the Torah was made the basis of national restoration. The situation called for a return to the center, a reorientation of Jewish life about its ancestral tradition. This could be done, Rabbi Johanan affirmed, even if the national Temple were lost. When a disciple brought to him the tragic news of the destruction of the Temple, he tore his garments, in conformity to Jewish mourning custom, but at the same time comforted his followers by quoting Hosea 6:6, "For I desire mercy and not sacrifice." Prayer and study in synagogue and synagogue school were now to take the place of sacrifice and ritual in the Temple, a historic transition in religious life.

Caesarea remained the Roman administrative center, but Jabneh replaced Jerusalem as the religious center of Judaism.

Johanan ben Zakkai established a *Beth ha-Midrash,* or Academy, for Torah study. Moreover, he had himself been a judge and had the authority to levy fines. In view of this fact, he ordained disciples to succeed him and with their aid established a civil and religious court to take the place of the Jerusalem Sanhedrin in non-political matters, such as the fixing of calendar dates of festivals and fasts. Thus Jabneh became the seat both of a Talmudic academy and of a *Bet-din* (high court), with Johanan ben Zakkai at their head. In the course of time Rabbi Johanan was succeeded by Gamaliel II. The head of the Bet-din came to be known as the *Nasi,* or Prince, and was recognized by the Romans as the rightful representative of the Jewish people.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF POST-WAR JUDAISM. The most prominent name among scholars of the second generation after the destruction of Jerusalem was that of Gamaliel II, who succeeded Rabbi Johanan as head of the academy and court at Jabneh. Gamaliel II assumed leadership at a time when the Emperor Domitian (A.D. 81–96) was making things very difficult for Jews. He was enforcing vigorously the hated poll-tax, the "Fiscus Judaicus," originally imposed by Vespasian, and was said to have placed spies in rabbinical academies. Then toward the end of his reign, it became known that an edict was being prepared to forbid Jews to proselyte. It was these conditions that caused Gamaliel to lead a delegation of protest to the emperor in A.D. 95.

This background helps to explain the importance attached by Gamaliel to a tightening of the lines of authority within Judaism. He was impatient, for example, with the endless debates in the assemblies of scholars between the schools of Shammai and Hillel, and it was probably in his time that the School of Hillel became dominant. The opinion of the School of Hillel was now adopted, for example, in the case of certain books whose right to a place in the biblical canon had been disputed. Both Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs were now accepted by a majority vote, while the Book of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus) was rejected. Another product of the quest for unifying norms was the beginning of the process

of codification of the Law, of which the work of Akiba is the best example from this generation of scholars. Gamaliel's insistence upon the authority of his office led him into numerous clashes with his fellow scholars, including his brother-in-law, Eliezer ben Hyrcanus. Opposition at last reached the point where, around the year A.D. 90, Gamaliel was deposed from office. Gamaliel bore himself so well under this humiliation that he was restored to his post a few years later.

The reorganization of the synagogue service was another important step taken under the leadership of Gamaliel II. No better medium could have been found by Gamaliel for his desired object of furthering the religious unity of his people. As has been well said,

> [the Jewish liturgy] is the earliest form of divine service which was offered with great regularity not only on Sabbaths and festivals, but on every day throughout the year; with the result that the whole life of the nation became influenced by religious thought and the religious spirit, and a national unity was brought into existence which nothing else could have effected.[1]

The synagogue service of this period can be reconstructed from the service in use today.[2] It consisted probably of five parts: (1) two preliminary blessings, for the daylight (or the repose of the night), and for the election of Israel and the giving of the Law; (2) the reading of the Confession of Faith, the *Shema* passage, those parts of Deuteronomy and Numbers which pledge loyalty to God and to his commandments, followed by a prayer for redemption; (3) then came what is called The Prayer, *Tefillah,* consisting in the present day of eighteen (or nineteen) parts and called *Shemoneh-Esreh* (The Eighteen). In addition, on Sabbaths and holy days there were (4) a reading from the Law and (5) a reading from the Prophets. Since Hebrew was no longer generally under-

[1] W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box, *A Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Medieval Judaism* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1920), p. 143.

[2] According to notes based on a lecture by Dr. Max L. Margolis delivered in Jerusalem, 1924–25; see also Max L. Margolis and Alexander Marx, *A History of the Jewish People,* pp. 208–209.

stood by the common people, it was the custom, first, to read in Hebrew, and then in Aramaic, after which some exposition of what had been read was given by the reader.

Some parts of the synagogue service go back much earlier even than the period under discussion. The daily synagogue service is actually based upon the non-sacrificial parts of the ancient Temple service. While the ancient liturgy cannot be reconstructed in detail, it is clear that even before the Maccabean period the Temple service included, aside from the sacrifices, prayer reading and explanation of Scripture, with special prominence given the Shema and the Ten Commandments, and Psalms.[3] These elements of the Temple service, excluding the sacrifices, furnished the basic features of the synagogue service. Out of these original elements as a nucleus the modern synagogue service has developed. Modifications were made from time to time as the needs of the changing situation demanded. After the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70, for example, the beautiful lines of the priestly blessing, based on Numbers 6:24–26, were incorporated into the synagogue liturgy.

Gamaliel II is said to have been responsible for the rearrangement of the Eighteen Benedictions in the order in which they are used. This is the central part of the synagogue service today as in the past. It is called by different names, simply the Prayer (*Tefillah*), or *Shemoneh-Esreh* ("the eighteen" benedictions), or *Amidah* ("standing"), because the congregation stands during the recitation of this prayer whereas it sits during most of the service. The structure of the Eighteen Benedictions is significant. The first three benedictions are devoted to the praise of God; all the intermediate paragraphs take the form of petitions; and the three closing benedictions consist of thanksgiving. Thus it is possible to say that "the Shemoneh-Esreh seems, therefore, to present us with the earliest pattern of what the subject-sequence of divine worship should be, viz. first *Praise* to God, then *Petition*, then *Thanksgiving*."[4] All versions of the She-

[3] Oesterley and Box, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

moneh-Esreh now in use in present-day synagogues are derived from the form given it by Gamaliel II.

Closely associated with the Shemoneh-Esreh in the synagogue service are certain ancient prayers that are permeated with deep religious feeling. Christians and Jews have common ground in their response to the words of the *Kaddish*, which in its full form is recited immediately after the conclusion of the Shemoneh-Esreh. The opening lines are:

> Magnified and sanctified be His great Name in the world which He hath created according to His will. May He establish His Kingdom during your life and during your days, and during the life of all the house of Israel, even speedily and at a near time, and say ye, Amen.[5]

The similarity of this petition to the prayer which Jesus taught his disciples is apparent. The hallowing of God's name and the coming of his kingdom are common to both prayers.

Another ancient and beautiful prayer, one of the most beautiful prayers in any liturgy, is the *Ahabah Rabbah*, which precedes the Shema in the synagogue service. The name is taken from the opening words:

> With abounding love hast Thou loved us, O Lord our God. With great and overflowing pity hast Thou had pity upon us. O our Father, our King, for our fathers' sake who trusted in Thee, and whom Thou didst teach the statutes of life, be gracious also unto us, and teach us. O our Father, merciful Father, ever compassionate, have mercy upon us, and put into our hearts to discern and to understand; to hear, to learn, and to teach; to observe and do and fulfill in love all the words of instruction in Thy Law. Enlighten our eyes in Thy Law, and let our hearts cleave to Thy commandments; and unite our hearts to love and to fear Thy Name, that we may never be put to shame. For in Thy holy, great, and revered Name have we trusted; so shall we rejoice and be glad in Thy salvation. O bring us in peace from the four corners of the earth, and make us go upright to our land; for Thou, O God, dost work salvation. And us hast Thou chosen from all peoples and tongues, and hast brought us near to Thy great Name for ever in faithfulness, that we might in love give thanks to Thee, and proclaim Thy unity. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who in love dost choose Thy people Israel.[6]

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 185.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

The substitution of the synagogue for the temple as the center of Jewish worship had a highly democratizing effect. The rabbis took the place of the priests, and unlike the priests, the rabbis came from every station and walk of life. The synagogue service itself was democratic; no priests were needed to perform the service. It was more like a Quaker meeting, those taking part who felt moved to do so. The rabbis themselves were simple more learned laymen. Divisions between rich and poor did not exist. Previously, it had not been possible for every man to bring sacrifices to the temple, but in the synagogue the prayer of the poor man was just as good as that of his rich neighbor. People came to listen to the word of God, and those who felt able to do so explained it to the others. In the process of transition from temple to synagogue as the center of worship, Jewish life underwent the final stages of a metamorphosis in which prayer took the place of sacrifices and the devotional study of the Law took the place of its ritual observance as the basis of religious life. More was gained than lost in this transformation.[7]

THE REVOLT UNDER BAR COCHBA. Two generations of peace followed the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70 and much progress was made in the reorganization of religious and social life. To be sure there were disturbances, which some have called a second Jewish War, during the reign of Trajan (98–117), particularly during the latter part of his rule, when Trajan was campaigning in the East and considering an invasion of India like a certain Macedonian predecessor. There was an uprising of Zealots, begun by Jews living in Egypt, Cyrene, and Cyprus, which was later joined by the Jews of Mesopotamia after Trajan's armies had passed through their country on the way to the conquest of Parthia. It is not certain to what extent the Jews of Palestine participated in this uprising. Nevertheless, their spirits must have been crushed when they heard of the cruelty with which the Romans put down the disorders. The insurrection did, however, cause Trajan to end his campaign in the East, and

[7] Based upon notes of lecture by Max L. Margolis.

the emperor himself died in Cilicia while returning from the expedition.

More serious warfare broke out under Hadrian's rule (A.D. 117–138). Cassius Dio, the Roman historian, blames the outbreak upon Hadrian's decision to build a new city, Aelia Capitolina, on the ruins of Jerusalem and a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on the location of the ancient Jewish Temple.[8] Hadrian visited Jerusalem in the spring of 130 and gave orders at that time to begin work on the rebuilding of the city and the construction of a temple. The Jewish rebellion did not break out immediately, but smouldered underground. It burst into the open in A.D. 132 after Hadrian had returned to Rome from a tour of Egypt and Syria. The leader of the Jewish forces was Bar Cochba, who was enthusiastically supported by Rabbi Akiba and identified by him as the expected Messiah. "Star out of Jacob," Akiba called him, borrowing the terminology from Balaam's prophecy in Numbers 24:17. Not all the scholars approved Akiba's acclamation of Bar Cochba as the embodiment of the Messianic dream, one of them saying, "Akiba, grass will be growing on your cheeks long before the Son of David comes."[9]

Palestine was thinly held by the Romans and the Jewish forces met with initial successes. The rebellion spread like wildfire all over Palestine. Jerusalem was captured early in the war and coins were struck with the legends, "In the year of the liberation of Jerusalem," and "Simon the Prince of Israel," Simon being the given name of Bar Cochba. An altar was erected and Simon's uncle, Eleazar, served as priest. Other nations, according to Cassius Dio, were joining the rebellion, as had Adiabene in the war of 66–70. Hadrian now had to call in his best generals against the Jews, first among whom was Severus, who was brought all the way from Britain where he was governor. Severus did not engage the Jews in an early mass encounter but pursued a war of attrition, isolating and exterminating small groups,

[8] Dio's Roman History (Loeb Classical Library, Vol. VIII [Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1914]), p. 447.

[9] G. F. Moore, *Judaism* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1927), I, 89.

depriving others of their sources of supply, and waiting until the time was ripe for a final encounter. The decisive battle took place in A.D. 135, at Bether, a fortress where Bar Cochba had chosen to make his last stand with what forces he had left to him, and resulted in the total defeat of the Jewish defenders.

The third and last Jewish rebellion had been crushed, but not without loss to the Romans. When Hadrian reported in writing to the Roman Senate the outcome of the war, according to Dio, he left out the usual opening phrase commonly used by the emperors, "If you and your children are in health it is well; I and the legions are in health." But the plight of the Jews was far worse. Dio states that "fifty of their most important outposts and 985 of their most famous villages were razed to the ground. There were 580,000 men slain in the various raids and battles, and the number of those that perished by famine, disease, and fire was past finding out." Even if one discounts the statistics of this ancient historian, it is safe to accept his statement that "nearly the whole of Judaea was made desolate . . ."

After the war Hadrian issued a series of edicts which struck at the heart of Jewish feeling and religious observance. Jews were forbidden to enter Jerusalem or even to approach the city. Once a year, on the ninth of Ab (July-August), according to St. Jerome's account written in the fourth century, the Jews were permitted to linger briefly near the sole surviving part of their Temple, the Wailing Wall, and there lament the loss of their sanctuary.

A deliberate attempt was now made by Rome to extirpate Judaism as a religion, with measures as drastic as those promulgated by Antiochus IV in pre-Roman days. Circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath and religious festivals, and even the study and teaching of the Law were all forbidden. The very possession of a copy of the Law was declared a capital crime. The only effective opposition to such persecution was martyrdom, a path chosen by a number of outstanding rabbis of the day, including Akiba. It is said that he was condemned to death by slow torture after a long

imprisonment. His serenity in the face of torture and death so surprised his executioner that he asked him, "Are you a sorcerer?" Akiba replied, "No, I am not a sorcerer. But I rejoice at the opportunity finally given me to love my God 'with all my life'; hitherto I was able to love Him only 'with all my means' and 'with all my might.'" Then Akiba recited the Shema, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One!" and died with the word "One" on his lips.[10]

THE MAKING OF THE MISHNA. Hadrian died in A.D. 138. Antoninus Pius (138–161) revoked the oppressive edicts of Hadrian, although restricting circumcision to members of the Jewish race. The center of Jewish life now shifted to Galilee, where the majority of Jewish residents of Palestine were to be found. Usha, near Haifa, was chosen as the location for the re-establishment of the Academy or Sanhedrin, and the scholars who gathered there turned at once to binding up Jewish community life. Simon the son of Gamaliel became the head of this new Sanhedrin.

Jerusalem was now a non-Jewish city and a pagan temple stood where the Jewish Temple had existed in the past. Thus the historic center of Judaism had been taken away. The great achievement of the second century A.D. in Jewish life was the making of the *Mishna* (the codification of oral tradition). The Mishna became a new spiritual center and, moreover, one which could be taken with the Jews wherever they were to reside, in Palestine, in Babylonia, or anywhere else. The makers of the Mishna are called the *Tannaim* (Teachers) and the period of the Tannaim is supposed to extend from the rise of the rival schools of Hillel and Shammai (*c.* A.D. 10) to the completion of the Mishna under Judah I about A.D. 200. However, the period of greatest activity of the Tannaim began in A.D. 70 and is divided among four generations of scholars: (1) A.D. 70–100; (2) A.D. 100–130; (3) A.D. 130–160; and (4) A.D. 160–200.

The most brilliant and influential scholar of the third generation (A.D. 130–160) was Rabbi Meir. He is said to

[10] Quoted from Judah Goldin, in *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion*, ed. Louis Finkelstein (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), I, 157–158.

have visited Asia (the Roman province) more than once and to have died there. A legend has it that he was of proselyte parentage, which, if true, suggests that he may have been born in Asia and like Paul of Tarsus may have used Greek as his mother tongue. He was a man of broad sympathies, a pupil first of Ishmael, then of Akiba, and did not disdain to learn from Elisha bar Abuyah, who became interested in esoteric speculation and eventually turned apostate. A firm friend of the pagan philosopher Oenomaus of Gadara, Rabbi Meir said that "even a Gentile who studies the Torah is equal to a high priest."

Meir lived in or near Tiberias during most of his mature life and earned his living by copying Scripture. In his public lectures, Rabbi Meir is said to have "devoted one third of his sermon to law, one third to Aggadah, and one third to parables,[11] which testifies both to his breadth of interest and to his wisdom as a pedagogue. The work for which Rabbi Meir became most famous is his revision of the traditional lore which had been compiled by Akiba. His contribution to the making of the Mishna is tersely summed up in the words of Strack: "His compilation of the Mishna rested on that of Akiba and served as a foundation for that of Judah Ha-nasi."[12]

Rabbi Meir's wife was Beruriah, daughter of Rabbi Hananiah ben Teradion, who had been martyred under Hadrian. Beruriah was herself a scholar of repute and her sayings were quoted in the schools. An insight into the truly religious spirit of Rabbi Meir and his wife, Beruriah, is provided by the following anecdote: "Their two sons died suddenly while Rabbi Meir was at the academy on a Sabbath afternoon. She put them on the bed and covered them with a sheet. In the evening Rabbi Meir returned and asked for the boys. She told him that they had gone to the academy. He protested that he had not seen them there. She gave him the cup of wine and he recited the prayers for the departure of the Sabbath. Then he asked once more: 'Where are our

[11] S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1952), II, 280.

[12] Hermann Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1931), p. 115.

two sons?' She said to him: 'Perhaps they have gone out somewhere, but they will surely return soon.' Then she served him food and he ate. After he had eaten, she said to him: 'My master, I have a question to ask.' He said to her: 'What is your question?' She said to him: 'O my master, the other day someone came and left in my charge a treasure, but now he has come to claim it. Shall I return it or not?' He said to her: 'Is there any question about the duty of returning property left in safekeeping to its owner?' She said to him: 'I did not want to return it without your knowing it.' Then she took him by the hand and led him to the room where the boys lay, and she placed him before the bed. She removed the sheet and he beheld the two boys lying dead on the bed. He began to cry. . . . Then she told him: 'Did you not tell me that we must return the treasure to its owner?' So it is. 'The Lord hath given and the Lord hath taken, may the name of the Lord be blessed forever.' Said Rabbi Hanina: By means of that parable she comforted him and his mind became resigned to his sorrow."[13]

The great name of the fourth generation of scholars was that of Judah ha-Nasi, or the Prince, as the ruler of the Sanhedrin was known. He succeeded his father, Simon ben Gamaliel, as patriarch, the title by which the Romans now designated the supreme head of the Jewish people. He was recognized by his peers as not only the rightful successor to the office of patriarch, but also as a scholar without equal among his contemporaries, which accounts for the frequent reference to him simply as Master, or Rabbi. In the Mishna, where he is designated about thirty times, he is referred to simply as Rabbi.

According to an early tradition, Rabbi Judah I was born on the same day that Akiba died, in A.D. 135. Whatever the accuracy of this statement, it correctly places Judah among men of importance to the making of the Mishna. In Usha of Galilee, his boyhood home, Judah learned to use Hebrew, and later on in his own household even the maid servants

[13] Yalkut Shimoni on Proverbs quoted from Ben Zion Bokser, *The Wisdom of the Talmud* (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1951), pp. 163–64.

are said to have spoken biblical Hebrew. Judah was the pupil not only of his father, Simon ben Gamaliel, but also of several other well-known scholars of the day whose schools he attended for at least brief periods of time. Something of the modesty of the man appears in his attitude both toward his teachers and his own later disciples. "Much I have learned from my teachers, more from my associates, and most of all from my pupils." Yet he was not backward in claiming for himself his rights as patriarch. He reserved to himself the right of ordination. He could upon occasion speak sharply to others. as when one of the teachers said, "He that learns from children is like him that eats unripe grapes and drinks wine out of the vat; while he that learns from the old is like him that eats ripe grapes and drinks wine that has aged." To him Rabbi Judah said spiritedly, "Look not at the pitcher, but at what is in it! There are new pitchers full of old wine, and old pitchers without even a drop of new wine."[14] After the death of his father, Rabbi Judah moved his school and the seat of the patriarchate from Usha to Beth Shearim, where he spent most of his life. During his last seventeen years, however, he lived at Sepphoris because of its altitude and good climate. Rabbi Judah combined high standards of scholarship with saintliness of personal character and was known among his colleagues as *ha-kadosh*, "the holy."

Judah's life work and the thing for which he is chiefly remembered is the completion of the codification of the Mishna. Probably every rabbi of the day had his own Mishna. The unique thing about Rabbi Judah's was that it was a collective effort incorporating the labors of his colleagues as well as his own. The method followed was to quote dissenting opinions on every case, together with the names of supporting authorities, then to give Judah's opinion, usually with the approval of the patriarchal court. It was this code that became the definitive form of the Mishna and, indeed, the only one which has survived. The work

[14] *Aboth* 4:20, quoted by Judah Goldin, in *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion*, p. 165. See Appendix A for other sayings of the Fathers.

is divided into six parts: (1) "Seeds," dealing mainly with agriculture, but beginning with a tractate on prayer, called Berakoth or "Blessings"; (2) "Seasons," dealing with the festivals, including the Sabbath; (3) "Women," mainly concerned with marriage laws; (4) "Damages," chiefly civil and criminal laws; (5) "Holy Things," mainly sacrificial laws, but with an interesting tractate, "Middoth," which deals with the structure of the Temple, based on tradition; and (6) "Purifications," concerning personal and ritual purification. Each collection is divided into tractates and each tractate into chapters and paragraphs. The language of the Mishna is Hebrew. A total of 148 scholars are named in the Mishna, and these and other teachers from the time of Hillel to Judah became known later on as Tannaim, or teachers.

THE DECLINE OF PALESTINIAN JUDAISM. The completion of the Mishna represents a watershed in the history of Judaism, the point at which Palestinian Judaism began to decline and the Babylonian center of Jewish life began its rise to ascendancy. Rabbi Judah I died about A.D. 217 and his successors to the patriarchate were lesser men. The great achievement of the rabbinical scholars in Palestine during the third and fourth centuries A.D. was the Palestinian Talmud, which consisted chiefly of the exposition of the Mishna and application of its legal decisions to new conditions. While the scholars of various academies actively conducted discussions based on the findings of the Mishna, the chief center was the academy at Tiberias. All the teachers of this period, whether in Palestine or Babylonia, are called *Amoraim*, literally "speakers," but with the sense of "interpreters" of the Mishna. The final date of the Palestinian Talmud can be determined by the fact that although the Emperors Diocletian and Julian are mentioned, there is no reference to Jewish authorities after the middle of the fourth century A.D.[15] Most scholars at Tiberias or other Palestinian academies by the late third or fourth centuries A.D. were Babylonians either by birth or education. This may be taken as

[15] Emil Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891), I, p. 134.

an example of the shift in the center of gravity of Jewish life which had already taken place, a shift to which various historical factors had contributed.

In the first place, there was the general decline of the Roman Empire which became especially marked after the reigns of the Antonine emperors in the latter part of the second century. The economic and social decline was reflected in a sharp population decrease throughout the Roman Empire, from which the Jewish population was not exempted. It has been estimated that of three million Jews living within the confines of the Roman Empire in A.D. 70, only half a million were left in the seventh century A.D.[16] The Jewish populations of Palestine and Egypt suffered the most drastic reductions.

Moreover, the exigencies of a declining Roman economy led to excessive taxation of the Jews. When, for example, a deputation of Jews protested to Niger, the Roman governor under Commodus (180–192), Niger replied that his only regret was that he could not tax the very air they breathed. The increasing economic burden led many Jews to emigrate from Palestine to Persian Babylonia where conditions were reported to be more favorable. There is no reason to doubt the statement of Rabbi Eleazar toward the end of the third century that the Jews constituted only a minority of the population of Palestine.

During and after the reign of Constantine (A.D. 306–337), with a short breathing-spell during the rule of Julian the Apostate (361–363), the lot of Jews in the Empire materially worsened. Previously, conflicts with the ruling powers, as in the times of Antiochus and Hadrian, had been chiefly political in character. Now with the emergence of Christianity as the religion of the Roman state, religious discrimination was added to other factors depressing the status of Jews. While Judaism as a religion was permitted to exist, increasing limitations were placed upon the rights of Jews as citizens. An entire series of repressive laws was inaugurated under

[16] A. Menes in *The Jewish People: Past and Present,* Vol. I (New York: Encyclopedic Handbooks, Inc., 1946), p. 150.

Theodosius II (A.D. 408–450), the ruler of Byzantium in the period after the Roman Empire had been divided into two empires of East and West. Jews were prohibited from building new synagogues, from holding public office, and, after the death of Gamaliel VI in A.D. 425, the patriarchate was abolished. It can well be understood that long before this time Palestine had lost its proud claim to be the spiritual center of world Jewry.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

The Sayings of the Fathers (*Pirke Aboth*)[17]

[This little book is the tenth section of the Mishna and, in contrast with most of the material in the Mishna and the Talmud as a whole, is anecdotal rather than legalistic in character. Some of the sayings are attributed to particular teachers, but many of them are anonymous. They deal with a great variety of subjects—the variety of life itself—but are shot through with an ethical-religious character which reveals the world of values in which these teachers lived and which they sought to reproduce in succeeding generations. A few sections only are quoted here, some of them coming from teachers mentioned in the text.]

I

Simeon the Just belonged to the last of the members of the Great Synagogue. He used to say: "On three things the world stands: on the Torah, on the Temple-service, and on acts of love."

Hillel and Shammai received the Law from them. Hillel said: "Be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and following after peace, loving men and bringing them nigh unto the Law."

He used to say: "If I am not for myself, who is for me? And if I am for myself only, what am I? And if not now, when?"

Shammai said: "Make thy study of the Torah a fixed habit"; "Say little and do much"; and "Receive every man with a pleasant face."

Rabban Simeon ben Gamliel said: "On three things doth the world stand: on judgement, on truth, and on peace."

[17] W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Sayings of the Jewish Fathers (Pirke Aboth)* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1919), Chaps. i–vi (in part).

II

Hillel said: "Separate thyself not from the congregation, and trust not thyself until the day of thy death"; and "Judge not thy neighbour until thou comest into his place"; and "Say not that a thing which cannot be understood at first will be understood eventually"; and "Say not, 'When I have leisure I will study'; it may be that thou wilt have no leisure."

Moreover, he saw a skull floating on the face of the waters, and he said unto it: "Because they drowned thee thou art drowned, but they that drowned thee shall themselves be drowned at the last."

He (Jochanan ben Zakkai) said unto them: "Behold, now, which is the good way to which a man should cleave?" Rabbi Eliezer said: "A good eye." Rabbi Joshua said: "A good companion." Rabbi Jose said: "A good neighbour." Rabbi Simeon said: "He that seeth that which shall be." Rabbi Eleazar said: "A good heart." Then said he unto them: "To me it appears that the words of Eleazar ben Arak are better than your words, for his words include your words."

Rabbi Simeon said: "Be careful in reading the *Shema* and in offering prayer"; and "When thou prayest make not thy prayer a mechanical formality, but let it be an entreaty before God."

Rabbi Tarphon said: "The day is short, and the work is great, and the labourers are sluggish, and the hire is abundant, and the master of the house is urgent."

III

Rabbi Chananiah ben Teradyon said: "Where two sit together without the words of the Torah, behold, there is the seat of the scornful, as it is said: 'Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful'; but where two sit together and are occupied with the words of the Torah, there is the Shekhinah among them, as it is said, 'Then they that feared the Lord spake one with another, and the Lord hearkened and heard.'"

Rabbi Nechuniah ben ha-Kanah said: "Whosoever takes upon him the yoke of the Torah, from him is removed the yoke of the government and the yoke of worldly care; and whosoever breaks from off him the yoke of the Torah, they lay upon him the yoke of the government and the yoke of worldly care."

He (Rabbi Chaninah ben Dosa) used to say: "Whosesoever works are more abundant than his wisdom, his wisdom endures; and whosesoever wisdom is more abundant than his works, his wisdom endures not."

Rabbi Dosa ben Harkinas said: "Morning sleep, and mid-day wine, and children's babbling, and sitting in the meeting-houses of the common people, drive a man out of the world."

Rabbi Ishmael said: "Be quick (in doing service) to a superior, and kindly disposed towards the aged, and receive every man with cheerfulness."

He (Rabbi Akiba) used to say: "The Tradition is a fence to the Torah; vows are a defence to self-control; silence is a defence to wisdom."

IV

Rabbi Jose said: "Whosoever honours the Torah is himself honoured by all men, and whosoever dishonours the Torah is himself dishonoured by all men."

Rabbi Meir said: "Do little business, but be busy with the Torah"; and "Be lowly of spirit before all men"; and "If thou hast been idle in regard to the Torah, many idle things will stand in thy way; but if thou labourest in the Torah, He hath much reward to give thee."

Rabbi Eleazar said: "Let the honour of thy disciple be as dear to thee as the honour of thy associate, and the honour of thy associate as the reverence for thy teacher, and the reverence for thy teacher as the fear of Heaven."

Rabbi Jacob said: "This world is like the vestibule of the world to come; prepare thyself into the vestibule that thou mayst enter into the banqueting-hall."

Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar said: "Seek not to pacify thy associate in the hour of his wrath; nor to comfort him when his dead friend is laid out before him; nor question him at the time of his making a vow; nor strive to see him in the hour of his disgrace."

Rabbi Jose ben Jehudah of Kephar ha-Babli said: "He who learns from the young, to what is he like? He is like unto one that eats unripe grapes, and drinks wine out of his vat. And he who learns from the old, to what is he like? He is like unto one that eats ripe grapes."

Rabbi (Judah the Prince) said: "Regard not the pitcher, but what is therein; there is a new pitcher full of old wine, and there is an old pitcher in which there is not even new wine."

V

There are four types of character in men: (i) He who says: "Mine is mine, and thine is thine," that is a moderate type—some say it is the Sodom type of character; (ii) he who says: "Mine is thine, and thine is mine," that is what the *am ha-aretz* say; (iii) he who says: "Mine is thine, and thine is thine," that is what the *Chasid* says; (iv) he who says: "Thine is mine, and mine is mine," that is what the wicked man says.

There are four types of character in scholars: (i) He who is quick to hear and quick to forget; his gain is cancelled by his loss. (ii) He who is slow to hear and slow to forget; his loss is cancelled by his gain. (iii) He who is quick to hear and slow to forget; he is a wise man. (iv) He who is slow to hear and quick to forget; such a man has a sad lot.

There are four types of character among those who sit in the presence of the wise: a sponge, and a funnel, a strainer, and a sieve.

A sponge is he who sucks up all; a funnel is he who takes in on one side and lets out on the other; a strainer is he who lets out the wine and retains the dregs; a sieve is he who lets out the coarse meal and retains the fine flour.

Jehuda ben Tema said: "Be strong as a leopard, and swift as an eagle, and fleet as a hart, and courageous as a lion, to do the will of thy Father which is in Heaven."

VI

Rabbi Meir said: "Whosoever is occupied in the Torah for its own sake merits many things; and not only this, but he is worth the whole world besides. He is called the friend of God, he is beloved of God; he loves God, he loves mankind; he pleases God, he pleases mankind; and it clothes him with humility and fear, and fits him to become righteous and pious, upright and faithful; and puts him far from sin, and brings him near to the side of merit. And they gain from him counsel and sound wisdom, discernment and strength; as it is said: 'Counsel is mine and sound wisdom, I am understanding, I have strength.' And it gives him a kingdom, and dominion, and discernment of judgement, and they reveal to him the secrets of Torah. And he is made like a well that ceases not, and like a river that grows ever mightier; and he becomes modest, and longsuffering, and forgiving of insult. And it magnifies him and exalts him over all things."

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. What changes in the social-religious structure of Jewish life resulted from the war against Rome?
2. How did Johanan ben Zakkai pave the way for the survival of Jewish religious life?
3. What were some contributions of Gamaliel II, as successor to Rabbi Johanan?
4. How did the reorganized synagogue service contribute to national unity?
5. Which parts of the daily synagogue service seem to be oldest?
6. What is meant by saying that the substitution of the synagogue for the temple as the center of Jewish worship had a democratizing effect?
7. What were the causes and consequences of the war against Rome in A.D. 132–135?
8. For what did Rabbi Meir become famous?
9. Explain the character and special importance of Rabbi Judah's edition of the Mishna.

10. Examine the selected sayings of the Jewish Fathers in Appendix A and be prepared to describe the primary values expounded by these teachers.
11. Account for the shift of leadership of world Jewry from Palestine to Babylonia.

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

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Chapter 9

THE LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF JESUS PART I

THE CENTRALITY OF JESUS. Christianity arose from within Judaism, and presupposes many of the traditional teachings of Judaism, such as the unity and universality of God, his holiness, his righteousness, and his love. Yet there are marked differences between Christianity and Judaism, some of which are rooted in the life and teachings of the founder and others in the later development of Christianity. Christianity, moreover, means different things to different kinds of Christians. And yet there is one thing which unites all Christians and distinguishes Christianity from all other faiths. That is the central place of the person of Jesus. "Christianity is the only religion which inclines to substitute its founder for its entire doctrine, and knows that it has gained rather than lost by so doing."[1] For an understanding of Christianity, therefore, we begin with an account of the founder, Jesus of Nazareth.

NON-CHRISTIAN SOURCES OF INFORMATION. There are references to Jesus and the early Christian movement in non-Christian writings of the first century A.D., although they are not numerous. The writings of Josephus contain two passages which refer to Jesus, although one of them seems to include Christian additions. Three references are found in the writings of Roman authors who lived in the first and early second centuries A.D. Written in Latin, two of these passages come from Roman historians, Tacitus (*c.* A.D. 55–117) and Suetonius (A.D. 65–135), while the third comes from Pliny the Younger during the period when he was governor (pro-consul) of Pontus and Bithynia (A.D. 100–113) in

[1] W. E. Hocking, *Living Religions and a World Faith* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940), p. 236.

Asia Minor. There are references to Jesus in Talmudic literature which are more difficult to date, since the making of the written Talmud out of the oral tradition of the Jews was a process spanning several centuries. There are no direct references to Jesus in the Mishna of Judah the Prince (b. A.D. 135), but allusions to Jesus are found in the Baraithas and Toseftas, other collections of rabbinical teaching of the same period. These non-Christian writings are evidence of the historical existence of Jesus, but they tell us little or nothing about him.[2]

EARLY CHRISTIAN SOURCES OF INFORMATION. The New Testament, particularly the Gospels, is our primary source of information about Jesus. Paul's letters were written first, but contain few details of the life and ministry of Jesus. The cause of Paul's silence can hardly have been ignorance of the main facts. Paul's visit in Jerusalem with Cephas (also called Peter) and Jesus' brother James (Galatians 1:18–19) gave him ample opportunity to gain any necessary information from unimpeachable sources. One reason for Paul's silence is that the basic facts about Jesus' earthly life were common knowledge among the earliest disciples and a familiar part of the oral tradition of the primitive church to which Paul refers from time to time. The main reason, probably, is that Paul's own interest in Jesus was primarily theological, not historical. The important thing for Paul was that God had revealed himself in Jesus (Gal. 1:16).

The Gospels are the primary sources for a knowledge of Jesus' life and teachings. Yet the serious-minded student must realize that there are difficult questions involved in the study of the Gospels. In their present form, for example, none of the Gospels can have been completed earlier than a full generation after the death of Jesus. Mark was probably finished by A.D. 65 or 70, Matthew and Luke about A.D. 85–90, and the Gospel of John near the end of the first century or early in the second century A.D. This relatively late dating of the Gospels in their completed form presents the basic problem of Gospel research: Is it possible to get behind the

[2] See Appendix for non-Christian sources.

written Gospels and to come closer to Jesus and the original circle of followers?

FORM CRITICISM. In recent years there has been much interest in form criticism, a method of study of the Gospels originating in Germany after World War I in the writings of such men as Martin Dibelius and Rudolf Bultmann. Form criticism concentrates upon oral tradition. The Gospel tradition once existed, the form critics say, in the form of small, separate units, accounts of "what Jesus said" and "what Jesus did." Dibelius labeled small units centering in a striking saying of Jesus "Paradigms," to which the English scholar, Vincent Taylor, has given the name "Pronouncement-stories." An example may be given of the Call of Levi (Mark 2:13–17 and parallels) where we find the famous saying "Those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners" (Mark 2:17). The other basic type Dibelius called "Novellen" or Miracle-tales, such as the story of the Stilling of the Tempest in Mark 4:35–41. A characteristic feature of form criticism is its emphasis upon the needs of the early Christian community. Stories about Jesus were told and retold by missionary preachers, teachers, healers, and others who traveled about and used these stories in their propagation of Christianity in every community where they found themselves. They tailored their material to meet the needs of each situation. They shortened their tales, they lengthened them; they even attributed to Jesus stories not originally told about him.

Form criticism has recently come under heavy fire. It is true that this method of study has greatly increased our understanding of the nature of oral tradition, the "living gospel" which preceded the period when our present Gospels became available. The form critics have also advanced our knowledge of the early and expanding Christian community whose needs called forth the developing tradition. But, as critics of form criticism have pointed out, what we come to know on this basis is the life of the church, not the life of Jesus. It must be remembered that the community did not produce Jesus; it was Jesus who produced the Christian com-

munity. A British scholar warns that "it is quite impossible with Form-criticism to rule out the influence over the community of commanding personalities, apostles and others who had a share in its life—to say nothing of the influence of Jesus himself."[3]

SOURCE CRITICISM. Source criticism is so called because it seeks earlier sources, or strands of material, within the first three or "Synoptic" Gospels. The estimated number of such earlier written documents has ranged from one to as many as seven or eight, or even more. According to the older "two document" theory, the similarities among the first three Gospels may be explained on the basis of dependence by Matthew and Luke upon Mark and Q (the initial letter of the German word *Quelle,* which means source). By Q material is meant the identical or nearly identical matter found in both Matthew and Luke, but not in Mark. The near identity of language in these parts of Matthew and Luke points to the use of a common source. In 1924 B. H. Streeter advanced a "four document" theory which he considered more adequate than the "two document" explanation.[4] Streeter labeled his sources Mark, Q, M, and L. M is material unique to Matthew, coming from a Jerusalem source. L is what is left when both Mark and Q have been subtracted from Luke. It is now considered by most scholars that a "multiple-document" theory—not two, not four, but as many as seven or eight sources—may be necessary to explain adequately the complex relationships among the first three Gospels.

THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS AND THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. The relationship of the first three Gospels to the Gospel of John poses a difficult problem. Although purporting to treat the same subject as the Synoptic Gospels, the Gospel of John is startlingly different from the others both in literary form

[3] W. Manson, quoted in A. H. McNeile, *An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 53. On pp. 52–58, McNeile lists seven basic criticisms of the methods used by form critics.

[4] B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925), chap. ix.

and in religious viewpoint.[5] The differences are so great that most scholars have abandoned the attempt to harmonize the accounts of Jesus given in the Gospel of John and the first three Gospels. It is also true that the majority of scholars consider the Synoptic Gospels to have greater historical value than John, although recognizing the spiritual profundity of the latter.

This last remark, however, must be qualified. Indeed, the present tendency in Gospel research is to recognize that John draws upon some valuable historical sources not used by the Synoptic writers. A French Protestant scholar states:

> Thus it seems likely that Jesus carried on an early Judean ministry parallel to that of the Baptist, that he visited Jerusalem from time to time for the great annual festivals, and that John is right in his dating of the Last Supper and the Crucifixion.[6]

Furthermore, Essene parallels in the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Gospel and the Letters of John have led some Protestant scholars to believe "that John preserves authentic historical material which took form in an Aramaic or Hebrew milieu where Essene currents still ran strong."[7] Such findings demand a restudy of theories of the date, place, and literary history of the Gospel of John. Nevertheless, it may be said that the consensus of scholarly opinion holds that the first three Gospels are the most reliable sources of information about the life of Jesus. The following pages are written on this premise.

THE EARLY YEARS. The birth stories of Matthew and Luke have several features in common which have become a part of Christian tradition. They agree upon Bethlehem of Judea as the birthplace of Jesus, although Matthew implies that Bethlehem was the home of Joseph and Mary, while

[5] For a list of differences, see D. M. Beck, *Through the Gospels to Jesus* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1954), pp. 354–356.

[6] Maurice Goguel, quoted in W. F. Howard, *The Interpreter's Bible,* Vol. VIII (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1952), p. 440.

[7] F. M. Cross, in *The Interpreter's Bible,* Vol. XII (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1957), p. 662.

Luke states that it was Joseph's ancestral place to which Joseph and Mary had journeyed from Nazareth for census registration. Matthew and Luke agree also upon the virgin birth of Jesus, although nothing is said of this by Mark or John. Matthew and Luke also agree that the birth of Jesus took place during and presumably toward the end of the reign of Herod the Great (40–4 B.C.), and on the basis of this and related statements in the Gospels it is customary to date the birth of Jesus not later than 4 B.C. and his death about A.D. 29. After recounting the birth and infancy of Jesus, the Gospels tell us no more about the early years of Jesus, with the single exception of Luke 2:41–52, the visit to the Temple at the age of twelve. That is why the early years are also known as "the silent years."

Yet our ignorance of this period of Jesus' life is not as complete as it might seem to be. It is possible to make plausible conjectures about the early years on the basis of indirect references and allusions scattered through the Gospels. It is also possible to reconstruct the background of the life of Jesus in the light of our general knowledge of the first-century world in which Jesus lived. In the narrative of the rejection at Nazareth, for example (Mark 6:1–6 and Matt. 13:55–56), we learn that Jesus was a member of a good-sized family, consisting of four brothers whose names are given and several sisters whose names are not mentioned, but of whom there seem to have been at least three (Matt. 13:56, "And are not all his sisters with us?"), in addition to Joseph and Mary. The economic status of the family is also given in these passages, although with a slight variation. In Matthew 13:55 we read, "Is not this the carpenter's son?", whereas Mark 6:3 refers specifically to Jesus: "Is not this the carpenter?" Jesus' saying about true relatives, found in all three Synoptic Gospels (Matt. 12:46–50; Mark 3:31–35; Luke 8:19–21), implies that members of his family did not fully sympathize with Jesus in his later public ministry. Yet it is noteworthy that one of the brothers, James, also became a well-known religious figure, serving as leader of the Jerusalem Christian group after the death of Jesus. It must have been

a deeply religious home to have produced two such influential religious leaders. One is reminded of Josephus' description of the typical Jewish home as one in which religious training was strongly emphasized. "We devote the greatest pains to the education of children, and make the observance of the Law and the rules of piety which have been given us the most important of our lives."[8] The almost total absence of references to Joseph in the Gospels implies that he died early, yet there are many indirect allusions to fatherhood scattered through Jesus' teachings which suggest the strong influence of his human father upon Jesus. The symbolism of God as Father is only one example.

NAZARETH OF GALILEE. Much general information exists for the understanding of the background of Jesus' life. The synagogue of Nazareth must have played an important role. It is impossible to say whether or not there was an elementary school or higher school attached to the Nazareth synagogue in the time of Jesus, although compulsory elementary education was decreed a few years before the outbreak of the war against Rome of A.D. 66–70 and is known to have been in effect by the middle of the second century A.D. At any rate the synagogue itself was by its very nature a place of instruction in religion. Various passages in the Gospels (such as Mark 1:21 ff., 39; 6:1 ff., etc., with parallels in Matthew and Luke) indicate that synagogue attendance and participation were a familiar practice of Jesus. Dalman thinks it may be possible to locate the place of the Nazareth synagogue of Jesus' day.

> Indeed, on the present market-road there stands a building, which has been used by the Greek Uniats as a church since 1741, and whose area, covered over with a barrel-vault, is shown as the "School of the Messiah." It may be the same room, if not the same building, in which Jesus, according to Antoninus (about 570), learnt the ABC, and where there was a beam which is supposed to have once been a school-bench which no Jew was able to lift. Four rectangular blocks with Hebrew letters, which were found near by, may have belonged to it. This was at that time the synagogue of the place. . . . A church was built there much later. It is not impossible that in the time of

[8] *Against Apion*, I, xii.

Christ the synagogue stood on the same spot. Hence the synagogue-church is the most important of the memorial sites of Nazareth.[9]

The Gospels reveal Jesus' familiarity not only with the Scriptures, but also with the unwritten tradition, since he displays himself as the equal of any scribe of the day in discussing the fine points of the oral Law (Mark 12:13 ff., 18 ff., 28 ff.). At the same time Jesus treated both the written and the unwritten Law with much greater freedom than the professionally trained scholars of the day, something which marked his thinking as different from that of both the common people and the Scribes and the Pharisees (Mark 1:27 and 2:1–3:6). Jesus appears in the Gospels as the champion of the *am ha-aretz,* the "people of the land," and this freer attitude may have been characteristic of Galileans, situated as they were in rural Palestine, remote from the tighter controls of official Judaism in Jerusalem.

The political record of the Galileans also has a bearing upon our understanding of Jesus and of his interpretation of his mission. It was Judas, the Galilean, and Zadok, a Pharisee, apparently also from Galilee, who founded the party of the Zealots, extremists who identified religion with nationalism and consistently urged rebellion against Rome. The uprising of A.D. 6 began in Sepphoris of Galilee, only four miles away from Nazareth. Jesus must have been about ten years of age at the time, if we follow the customary dating of his life. It seems likely, then, that from his earliest years he was well acquainted both with Jewish nationalism associated with the "Son of David" type of Messianic expectation, and with the brutal efficiency of Roman rule in putting down such rebellions. If Jesus as an artisan took part in the rebuilding of Sepphoris, an undertaking not completed until A.D. 25, he must have rubbed shoulders in the streets of Sepphoris with Greek traders, Roman officials, and Orientals. This juxtaposition of Jewish and Graeco-Roman life was typical of Galilee, and may have made its contribution to the wider outlook found in the Gospels.

[9] Gustaf Dalman, *Sacred Sites and Ways* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1935), p. 68.

JOHN THE BAPTIST AND THE ESSENES. "In those days," we read in Matthew 3:1, "came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea." The only suggestion of an exact date comes from Luke 3:1, "in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar," which probably refers to the year A.D. 27–28. The "wilderness" was the semi-desert of the lower Jordan and the region of the Dead Sea, a solitary, uninhabited place except for occasional hermits and ascetic communities like the Essenes who, as we know, had a monastic settlement near the northwest shore of the Dead Sea, about eight or ten miles south of modern Jericho. It was in this wilderness then, that John the Baptist appeared, garbed in a manner reminiscent of Elijah (II Kings 1:8).

Was John the Baptist an Essene? There are numerous parallels between John's preaching and the beliefs of the Qumran community. John prefaced his message with the words of the prophet Isaiah: "The voice of one crying in the wilderness: Prepare the way of the Lord, make his paths straight." The monks of Qumran thought of themselves as living in the wilderness and performing a necessary work of preparation, and they quoted the same passage from Isaiah. John and the Essene monks shared the same type of Messianic expectation. Both practised a baptism of repentance and expected a ~~further~~ purification by the Holy Spirit. Both gave warning of a final Day of Judgment. The parallel extends even to the biblical reference to locusts and honey, which is also mentioned in the so-called Damascus or Zadokite document, now considered to be closely related to the Dead Sea Scrolls in origin.

Yet the fact remains that John the Baptist could not have been a member of the Qumran community during the period of the activities described in the Gospels. He was not living the retired life of a monk, but conducting a public mission. He was preaching a message for all mankind, whereas the Qumran monks were a closed community, with a message for the few. It is of course possible that John had at one time been a member of the monastic group. The suggestion has even been made that the Essenes adopted him as a boy, a

practice ascribed to them by Josephus. This may or may not have been the case. It can be said, however, that "the religious movement he inaugurated was certainly an expression of the same general tendency in Judaism which produced that sect and others in the period just before and after the beginning of the Christian era."[10]

It is clear that John had no intention of making himself inaccessible to people. The location he chose in the region of the lower Jordan was a strategic one, within easy distance of Jerusalem and southern Judea, and multitudes, we are told, came to see and hear John and to be baptized by him in the Jordan. They came from Jerusalem, from all Judea, from the region about the Jordan, and, judging by the example of Jesus, from as far away as Galilee. The message they heard was a warning of judgment and a demand for repentance. John accompanied his preaching of judgment and repentance with the rite of baptism. Mark 1:4 says that "John the baptizer appeared in the wilderness, preaching a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins."

JESUS AND THE ESSENES. Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee and was baptized by John. After his baptism, Jesus withdrew into the desert for forty days, according to the Synoptic Gospels. Jesus' withdrawal to the desert corresponds with the Qumran withdrawal to the desert, reminiscent of the forty years spent by the Israelites in the wilderness. "He, like the Qumran community, is identifying himself with the True Israel . . ."[11] It is possible to find other similarities in teaching and practice between Jesus and the Essenes. Like the Essenes Jesus proclaimed the Age to Come and gave stern warnings of the impending judgment. Jesus also seems to have shared the scorn of the Qumran monks for religious officialdom in Jerusalem. No doubt still other resemblances may be found.[12]

[10] Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: The Viking Press, 1955), p. 329.

[11] J. M. Allegro, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1956), p. 156.

[12] See Millar Burrows, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: The Viking Press, 1958), chap. ix.

But there are striking differences between Jesus and the Essenes. One thing is obvious: Jesus was not an Essene monk during his public ministry. An Essene monk could not have traveled about the land mixing freely with the people to whom he brought his message. In marked contrast to the Essenes, Jesus' non-ascetic attitude led him to be condemned by some as a "glutton and a drunkard, a friend of tax collectors and sinners" (Matt. 11:19). It is also clear from the Gospel records that Jesus took a freer attitude toward the laws of ceremonial purity than did the Essenes, or the Pharisees, for that matter. Nor is there any evidence that Jesus was ever a member of the Qumran community. The most radical claims linking Jesus to the Essenes are arguments from silence regarding the silent years.[13] It is quite possible that Jesus was acquainted with the thought of the Essenes and that his own teachings were influenced to some extent by such acquaintance. It is also possible that some of the early members of the Jerusalem Christian Church had been members of the Essene order. In general, the argument for a direct connection of early Christianity with Essenism is much stronger than that of any direct relationship of Jesus to the Essenes.

JESUS' BAPTISM BY JOHN. Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee and was baptized by John, according to the Gospels. For the Gospel writers and, presumably, for Jesus himself, this was an incident of great importance. But it is also important to know *why* Jesus came to the Jordan to be baptized by John.

It is difficult to accept as authentic the depreciatory words of Matthew 3:14–15:

> John would have prevented him, saying, "I need to be baptized by you, and do you come to me?" But Jesus answered him, "Let it be so now; for thus it is fitting for us to fulfill all righteousness." Then he consented.

[13] Note the following chapter headings from A. P. Davies' *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls:* "More About Scriptures Not in the Bible," "Hypothesis and Conjecture," "Some Questions That Invite New Answers," and "Who were the Early Christians? Some Suggestions for Further Inquiry."

These words are not found in the parallel passages of Mark or Luke and clearly reflect a later apologetic interest in the doctrine of the sinlessness of Jesus, upon which the validity of Jesus' Messianic claim was then thought to depend. The apocryphal[14] Gospel According to the Hebrews illustrates the development of this viewpoint. The apocryphal gospel adds to the synoptic account a scene in the Nazareth home of Jesus, before his departure for the Jordan, in which the proposal is made that the entire family seek baptism of John the Baptist.

> The mother of the Lord and his brothers said to him, "John the Baptist baptizes for the forgiveness of sins; let us go and be baptized by him." But he said to them, "In what have I sinned that I should go and be baptized by him? Unless, perhaps, what I have just said is a sin of ignorance."[15]

A similar apologetic emphasis appears in the Gospel of John, although in another context (8:46), where Jesus is made to ask indignantly, "Which of you convicts me of sin?"

Yet the teachings of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels give no support to the view that Jesus applied this dogma to himself. His attitude there is expressed in the dialogue with the Rich Young Man. When addressed as "Good Teacher," Jesus sharply replied, "Why do you call me good? No one is good, but God alone" (Mark 10:18). The way in which Matthew in the parallel passage (19:16 ff.) alters the wording of Mark provides a further illustration of the tendency of developing tradition to stress the dogma of sinlessness.

What then are we to think? That Jesus was a gross sinner? Hardly. "None of the Gospel material suggests that Jesus

[14] Literally "secret, or hidden" books, but as used here refers to books considered as having secondary value. New Testament Apocrypha include several second-century gospels, such as the Gospel According to the Egyptians, the Nazarene Gospel, and fragmentary books like the Gospel of Peter and an "Unknown Gospel" published by Bell and Skeat in 1935, in addition to the Gospel According to the Hebrews. The Gospel of Thomas, found with other books in a Gnostic library in Upper Egypt in 1945, belongs in the same category.

[15] Quoted in Jerome, *Against Pelagius,* III, 2.

had any consciousness of personal sin; but Israel as a whole needed to repent, and Jesus no doubt assumed that any right-minded man would associate himself with John's movement."[16] It is possible then to believe that Jesus sought baptism at the hands of John the Baptist as a sign of repentance of sins in the sense that he identified himself with the sins of his own nation. It was his hope that Israel might fulfil her religious destiny as that had been proclaimed by the ancient prophets, now brought so vividly to mind by the stern preaching of John the Baptist. Examples of identification by an individual with his own community are not rare. One thinks of Gandhi in India. The following example comes from American life a generation ago:

> John Jay Chapman, man of letters, native of New York, made a few years ago a strange journey to the village of Coatesville, Pennsylvania. This village in the previous year had been the scene of the lynching of a Negro, a crime which the northern states of our country have commonly held as a reproach against our southern states. Chapman felt the disgrace of this northern lynching as attaching to the entire region in which his life had been placed, and to him personally. On the anniversary of the event, he announced a penitential service in Coatesville, inviting the members of that unrepentant community to attend. He carried through the service with one other person present.[17]

For Jesus, as for John, then, baptism involved repentance for sins, in some sense of the expression. But there was an additional, eschatological element in John's baptism, and this must have held true for Jesus as well. Baptism called both for national repentance of past sins and for dedication to God's purposes in the New Age so close at hand.

DID JESUS THINK OF HIMSELF AS MESSIAH? On the road to Caesarea Philippi Jesus asked his disciples, "Who do men say that I am?" The answers indicated a variety of opinion. "And they told him, 'John the Baptist'; and others, 'Elijah'; and others 'One of the prophets.' And he asked them, 'But

[16] S. E. Johnson, *The Interpreter's Bible,* Vol. VII (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1951), p. 268.

[17] W. E. Hocking, *Living Religions and a World Faith* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940), p. 43.

who do you say that I am?' Peter answered him, 'You are the Christ' " (Messiah).[18]

The disciples of Jesus after his death clearly believed that Jesus was the expected Jewish Messiah. What of Jesus himself? This is less clear. Twice in late Gospel passages Jesus accepted the title, once on the road to Caesarea Philippi (Mark 8:27–33) and once during the trial before Caiaphas (Mark 14:62). However, in the first of these passages, already cited, it is Peter who acclaims Jesus as Messiah. Except for the disputed verses in Matthew 16:17–19, Jesus' acceptance of the title, if it is that, is a tacit one, immediately followed by a command of secrecy (Mark 8:30; Luke 9:21). In the passage before the high priest, the words of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark, replying to the question "Are you the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?", are explicit: "I am." But Matthew's parallel reading is "You have said so" (26:64), and Luke reports Jesus' refusal to answer the question (22:67–88). This is what is meant by the "Messianic secret," and it is possible that it must forever remain a secret.

The statement in Mark 8:28 that some thought Jesus "one of the prophets" takes on added interest in the light of the Dead Sea Scrolls and our present knowledge that the Essenes were looking forward to the coming of the prophet foretold in Deuteronomy 18:15, in addition to a Messiah of Aaron and a Messiah of Israel.[19] Christian thought eventually found all three offices fulfilled in Jesus, those of prophet, priest, and king.[20] Some leading scholars today are asking whether Jesus thought of himself as the prophetic forerunner of the Messiah (Deut. 18:15) rather than as the Messiah.

If Jesus did think of himself as Messiah, one may well understand his reluctance to accept the designation, at least publicly. As Vincent Taylor puts it:

[18] In the Gnostic *Gospel of Thomas,* a copy of which was discovered in Upper Egypt in 1945, it is Thomas, not Peter, who "recognizes" Jesus. See Log. 83:2–8.

[19] See *Manual of Discipline,* 9:11.

[20] K. G. Kuhn in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1957), ed. K. Stendahl, pp. 63–64.

At the confession of Peter (Mark 8:29–31), and again in answer to the question of Caiaphas (Mark 14:60–62), he tacitly accepted the title "the Christ"; but it was a name with which he was never happy because of the nationalism which endeared it to the people.[21]

Furthermore, as T. W. Manson writes:

> It is becoming increasingly clear that the real messianic secret in the Gospels is the answer not to the question "Who is the Messiah?", but to the question "What is messiahship?" And if there is one thing more than another that tends to increase our confidence in the Synoptic Gospels as historical documents, it is the fact that they have preserved so much material, which not only shows that this is the right question, but also shows clearly enough what is the right answer: the Ministry of Jesus is Messiahship . . ."[22]

The temptation narratives (Matt. 4:1–11; Mark 1:12–13; Luke 4:1–13) support the preceding interpretation, since in the longer form of Matthew and Luke they are Messianic in reference and clearly reject the nationalistic conception. Although it is customary to interpret the temptations of Jesus as three separate experiences, the fact is they all deal with but one issue, the mode of Jesus' conduct of his public mission. Again we may quote Vincent Taylor, who remarks that "it is possible that the traditional explanation interprets the threefold form of the narrative too literally and that only one possible course of action was involved—the temptation to lead Israel to fulfill her divine destiny even at the cost of armed conflict with Rome . . ."[23] In any case, it is clear that Jesus rejected the popular expectation of a political Messiah and gave his adherence to the slower but in the end more effective method of appealing inwardly to the moral consciousness of a people long nurtured on the message of the ancient prophets.

AN EARLY JUDEAN MINISTRY? In the account of Jesus' public mission given in the first three Gospels, the scene now shifts from the lower Jordan to Galilee. Mark introduces the

[21] *The Life and Ministry of Jesus* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1955), pp. 59–60.

[22] Review of Joachim Jeremiah: *Die Gleichnisse Jesus,* in *New Testament Studies,* Vol. I, No. 1 (Sept. 1954), p. 58.

[23] *Op. cit.,* pp. 60–61.

Galilean ministry by saying, "Now after John was arrested, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God" (1:14–15). Luke provides a connection with the preceding account of the baptism and temptation by a telling phrase, "And Jesus returned *in the power of the Spirit* into Galilee" (4:14). But what of the period between Jesus' baptism and temptation and the arrest of John? Did Jesus return to Nazareth and resume his former way of life temporarily? There is no evidence to support such a claim. Did Jesus become a co-worker with John for a brief period? Again no conclusive answer is possible. Nonetheless there are reasons for believing that Jesus may have conducted a Judean ministry, similar to that of John, and possibly in cooperation with John in an attempt to awaken the nation to its need for repentance.

The Revised Standard Version translation of Luke 4:44, supported by some manuscripts but not by others, contains a hint of an early Judean ministry, "And he was preaching in the synagogues of Judea." The Gospel of John, which follows its own sources and has a chronology independent of the Synoptic Gospels, opens with a brief ministry in Galilee, including the wedding at Cana (2:1–11) and a few days spent at Capernaum (2:12), followed by an early Judean ministry which featured the cleansing of the Temple (2:13–25), a conversation with Nicodemus, a Pharisee of Jerusalem (3:1–21), and a description of Jesus and his disciples conducting a ministry of baptism similar to that of John. It is not wise to insist strongly upon the accuracy in details of John's account of this early ministry of Jesus, since the Fourth Gospel is clearly influenced by an apologetic motive, namely, to prove John's cheerful self-subordination to Jesus as one whom he regarded as greater. Moreover, there are discrepancies between the Synoptic Gospels and the Fourth Gospel with respect to entire episodes incorporated into the latter's account of this early Judean ministry. For example, not only do Mark, Matthew, and Luke say nothing of a wedding at Cana —which might be dismissed as merely argument from silence —but they give an entirely different setting to the episode

of the Cleansing of the Temple, placing it during Passion Week toward the very end of Jesus' life where it provides a convincing climax to all that has gone before. The majority of New Testament scholars today accept the Synoptic view of this matter as against John, but there is this to be said for John's arrangement. Placing the purification of the Temple courts early in the public career of Jesus brings sharply into focus Jesus' aim in his public mission. "Take these things away; you shall not make my Father's house a house of trade" (John 2:16). Mark and the other Synoptic writers make Jesus' words more positive: "Is it not written, 'My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations'? But you have made it a den of robbers" (Mark 11:17; Matt. 21:13; Luke 19:46). The quotation is from Isaiah 56:7 and makes it clear that Jesus conceived his mission in life as a reform of Jewish national life along the lines of ancient prophetic teaching.

PREACHER AND HEALER OF GALILEE. Jesus returned from Judea to Galilee and opened an independent mission there at the precise moment when John the Baptist had been arrested by Herod Antipas. Mark 6:14 calls Herod Antipas "King," the title by which he was known to Peter and other Galileans, although Matthew and Luke more accurately call him "tetrarch" (ruler of a quarter kingdom). The reason given in the Gospels for John's arrest and subsequent execution is that he had condemned Herod Antipas for adultery with his brother's wife (Mark 6:17–29). The reference in Mark's account to the leading men of Galilee who had been invited to Herod's banquet assumes that the place of John's imprisonment was Tiberias, Herod's capital city in Galilee, only a few miles from Capernaum and the nearby towns and villages which became the center of Jesus' public ministry. Josephus provides additional details about Herod's scandalous marriage by saying that Herod had divorced his own wife, the daughter of Aretas, king of the Nabatean Arabs, in order to marry Herodias, but states that the imprisonment and execution of John the Baptist had taken place at

Machaerus, a fortress-palace of Herod Antipas located on the southern border of Perea, a few miles to the east of the Dead Sea.

The courage of Jesus in the choice of a location for his work of preaching and healing is underscored not only by the nearness of Capernaum to Tiberias, Herod's capital, but also by what we know about the capricious, suspicious, and fear-ridden character of Herod Antipas. When the tetrarch heard about Jesus' works of healing, his first reaction was that John whom he had beheaded had been raised from the dead (Mark 6:14–16). The statement in Mark 6:6 that certain Pharisees denounced Jesus to the Herodians suggests that Herod Antipas' suspicions may have been aroused early in Jesus' Galilean ministry. At a later time certain friendly Pharisees went to the trouble of warning Jesus that his life was in danger from Herod (Luke 13:31). That Jesus was well aware of the danger to his life is evidenced by his scornful reference to Herod as a "fox" and his satirical comment that "it cannot be that a prophet should perish away from Jerusalem" (Luke 13:31–33). In similar vein is Jesus' open praise of John the Baptist as a prophet and more than a prophet, accompanied in Luke's report by an ironical contrast between the austerity of John, at that time held in the king's prison, and the self-indulgence and luxury of Herod Antipas in his palace (Matt. 11:7–9; Luke 7:24–26). This then was the ominous backdrop of Jesus' ministry in Galilee. Jesus must have been well aware that in the end he would meet the same fate as had John. It is apparent that he had counted the cost (Luke 14:25–33). Yet under these circumstances he began preaching the good news of a better and more enduring kingdom.

CAPERNAUM BY THE SEA. Although Matthew and Luke imply that Jesus first visited Nazareth upon his return from Judea, the opening episode of the Galilean ministry in Mark's account is the call of the first disciples by the Sea of Galilee (1:16–20). The reason for this may be that Peter, on whose memoirs the Gospel of Mark is based, restricted himself to reminiscences of events in which he had played a direct part. The call of the four is described much more vividly in Mark

PALESTINE
DURING THE
MINISTRY OF JESUS
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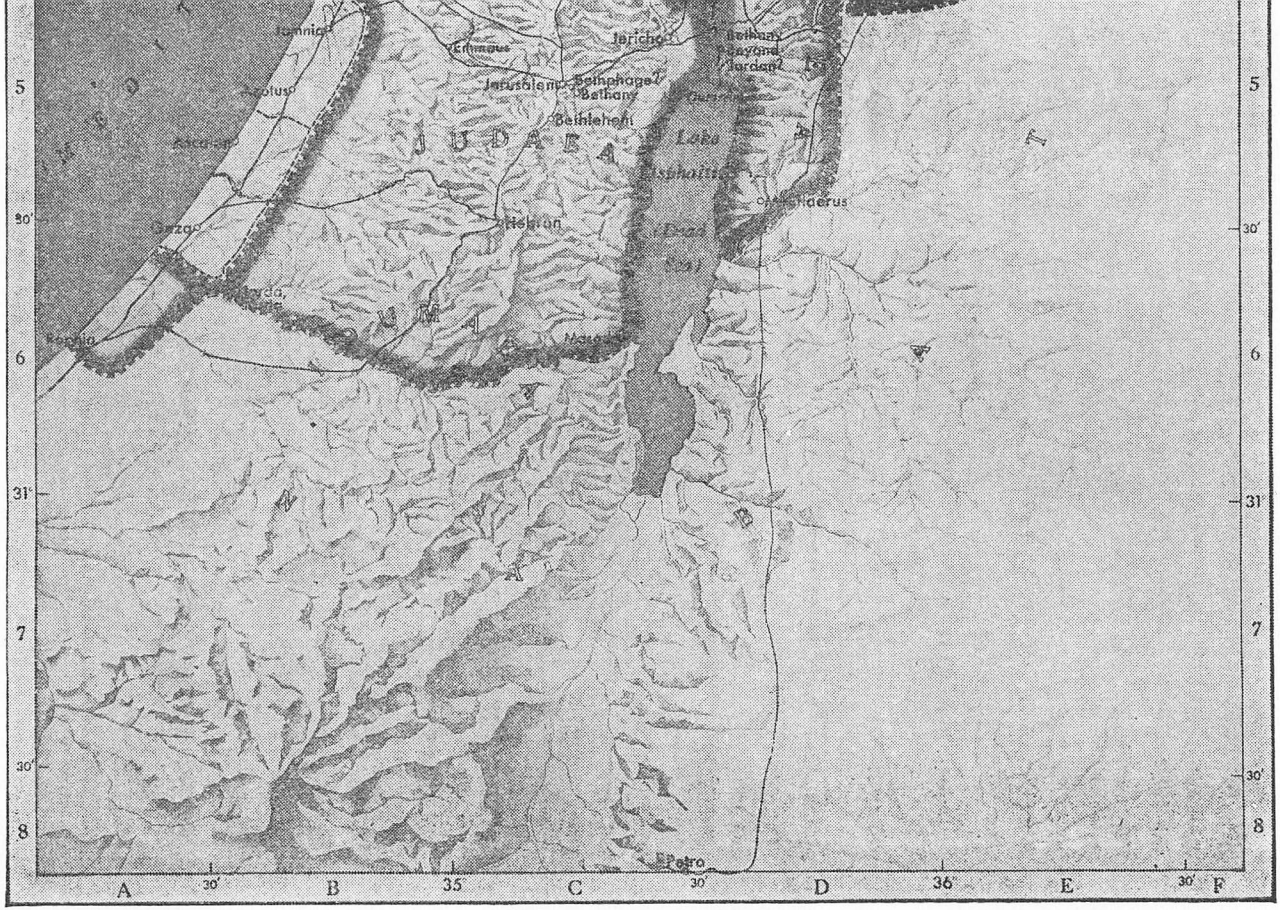
SCALE OF MILES
0 5 10 15 20 25 30
TETRARCHY OF PHILIP
TETRARCHY OF HEROD ANTIPAS
UNDER PONTIUS PILATE
DECAPOLIS
AREAS UNDER SPECIAL CONTROL
CITIES AND TOWNS
ROADS
A
B
C
D
E
F
35°
36°
30'
1
2
3
4
32°
33'
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
PLAIN OF SHARON
SAMARIA
GALILEE
AULON
BATANAEA
TRACHONITIS
AURANITIS
DECAPOLIS
ABILENE
ITURAEA
Caesarea Philippi
Tiberias
Sea of Galilee
Capernaum
Bethsaida Julias
Chorazin
Magdala
Tarichea
Nazareth
Endor
Nain
Gadara
Ginaea
Caesarea
Samaria
Sebaste
Sichem, Sychar
Mt. Gerizim
Salim?
Antipatris
Jacob's Well
Gerasa
Jericho
Jordan River
Dead Sea
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Hebron
Beersheba
Gaza
Ashkelon
Ashdod
Joppa
Lydda
Emmaus
Bethel
Ai
Jericho
Jordan River
Dead Sea
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Hebron
Beersheba
Gaza
Ashkelon
Ashdod
Joppa
Lydda
Emmaus
Bethel
Ai


Jericho
Jerusalem
Bethphage
Bethany
Bethlehem
JUDAEA
Lake
Asphaltites
Hebron
Gerar
Beersheba
Petra
A
B
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E
F
5
6
7
8
30'
31'
35'
36'

than in Matthew and Luke, a fact which supports this view. Immediately after the call of Simon (Peter), Andrew, James, and John, the scene shifts to Capernaum. This good-sized town, the home of Simon, who was married and lived with his wife's mother (Mark 1:30), now became Jesus' home too, and headquarters for his Galilean ministry. The wording of Mark 1:29 may indicate that James and John also made Simon's home their own.

The location of ancient Capernaum is well-known to modern biblical scholars and visitors to Israeli Palestine. It is identified with the ruins of Tell Hum on the northern shore of the Lake of Galilee about two and a half miles west of the entry of the Jordan into the lake. Most conspicuous among the ruins are the remains of an ancient synagogue. This particular building appears to have been constructed in the early third century A.D. and cannot therefore have been the one in which Jesus taught in Capernaum. Nevertheless, it was probably built on the same site and according to the plan of the first century synagogue which, according to Luke 7:2 ff., had been presented to the community by the friendly Roman centurion whose servant Jesus had healed. The synagogue faced south toward the lake and toward Jerusalem, since it was the custom to offer prayers toward the Holy City. It was built of gleaming white limestone blocks and had a colonnade surrounding all sides but the front. The building was ornamented with beautiful carvings of palm trees, vines, eagles, centaurs, and boys with garlands.[24]

Capernaum was well-suited to be the center of Jesus' Galilean ministry. The whole area embracing Capernaum is well-watered, fertile, and capable of high productivity if properly cultivated. Josephus calls attention to the beauty,

[24] Jack Finegan, *Light from the Ancient Past* (2d ed.; Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1959), p. 227. The ruins of the synagogue at Capernaum were uncovered some years ago by German archaeologists, and the Franciscan fathers who now own the property have partially reconstructed the synagogue, making use of whatever hewn stones and drums of columns which had not over the centuries been hauled away for building purposes by inhabitants of nearby hamlets and villages.

fertility, and large population of this whole region which he calls by the name Gennesareth, a name given also to the lake. Then, too, ancient Capernaum had several claims to importance. Until the building of Tiberias (*c.* A.D. 26) by Herod Antipas, Capernaum was the largest city in the lake region, although not as large as Sepphoris, the Roman administrative center of Galilee. It was a busy seaport, and its harbor must have been filled constantly with fishing craft. It was important, also, because of its location on the road which led from the coastal city of Ptolemais (Acre) to Damascus. Its location on this international road, near the boundary between the tetrarchy of Herod Antipas and that of Herod Philip to the northeast, accounts for the tax office referred to in Mark 2:14. On the east side of the Jordan, Herod Philip had established his capital, Bethsaida Julias. Capernaum, on the west side of the river, was thus a frontier town, with a customs post, and, no doubt, a military garrison. It was within easy striking distance of numerous other Jewish towns and villages, such as Chorazin whose ruined synagogue may be explored today after a half hour's climb up into the hills above Capernaum, while Magdala, home of Mary Magdalene, was situated on the seashore a few miles to the west of Capernaum and three miles north of Tiberias. Here in Capernaum Jesus made his home (Mark 9:33) and headquarters for the Galilean ministry.

A Typical Day in Capernaum. Mark 1:21–34 describes a typical day of Jesus' life in Capernaum with such vividness that the account may well have come directly from Peter, an eyewitness of the event. We are told that it was the Sabbath and that Jesus went to the synagogue and taught. The glimpse into the synagogue at Capernaum given us by the Gospel of Mark reveals Jesus as a preacher with power. The narrative has it that "they were astonished at his teaching, for he taught them as one who had authority and not as the scribes" (Mark 1:22). Jesus could and sometimes did expound Scripture in typical scribal fashion, citing authority much as a modern writer uses a footnote. More often, as

here, Jesus spoke out of his own conviction, like a prophet. It was this which impressed his hearers. He spoke as one having authority directly from God and not derived from scribal tradition.

The visit to the synagogue at Capernaum reveals Jesus as a healer as well as preacher.[25] The modern reader is likely to be interested in the therapeutic aspects of this case of demon exorcism. The Gospel writer was no doubt more interested in the testimony of the demon to Jesus as a divine person. Healings loomed large on this particular day. On returning home from the synagogue, Jesus cured Simon Peter's mother-in-law of a fever (Mark 1:31). At sundown, the official end of the Sabbath, "the whole city" gathered about the door, to quote Mark's dramatic language. On this occasion Jesus healed many who were suffering from different illnesses, including other cases of demon possession.

Some interpreters of the Gospels, conscious of the difficulties connected with the miracle narratives in the minds of present day readers, have sought evidence in the Gospels that Jesus relegated his work of healing to a place secondary to that of preaching. To this end Mark 1:38 has often been quoted: "And he said to them, 'Let us go on to the next town, that I may preach there also; for that is why I came out.'" Yet the very next sentence of Mark refutes this interpretation, stating as it does that Jesus went through all Galilee "preaching in their synagogues and casting out demons" (Mark 1:39). Both preaching and healing were integral to Jesus' mission. To the disciples of John the Baptist who brought a question from their master, Jesus said: "Go and tell John what you hear and see: the blind receive their sight and the lame walk, lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up, and the poor have good news preached to them" (Matt. 11:4–5). Here "mighty works" and preaching of the good news equally reveal God's power and the imminence of the coming of his Kingdom.

[25] For a general discussion of Gospel miracles, see F. C. Grant, *Introduction to New Testament Thought* (New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1950), pp. 144–159; Joseph Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925), pp. 266–272.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

References to Jesus in non-Christian Literature

I. Josephus (A.D. 37–95)

[For information about Josephus and his writings, see p. 116. The historical value of Selection A has been greatly weakened by the adulatory words added, apparently, by a Christian editor. There are no other indications in Josephus' writings that he accepted Christian claims for Jesus as the expected Jewish Messiah.]

A.[26]

Now, there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was (the) Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again the third day; as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

B.[27]

And now Caesar, upon hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus into Judea, as procurator. But the king deprived Joseph of the high priesthood, and bestowed the succession to that dignity on the son of Ananus, who was also himself called Ananus. . . . But this younger Ananus, who, as we have told you already, took the high priesthood, was a bold man in his temper, and very insolent; he was also of the sect of the Sadducees, who are very rigid in judging offenders above all the rest of the Jews, as we have already observed; when, therefore, Ananus was of this disposition, he thought he had now a proper opportunity (to exercise his authority). Festus was now dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; so he assembled the Sanhedrin of

[26] *Antiquities of the Jews*, XVIII, iii, 3.
[27] *Antiquities of the Jews*, XIX, ix, 1.

judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others (or, some of his companions). And when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned. . . .

II. Tacitus (*c.* A.D. 60–*c.* 120)[28]

[Publius Cornelius Tacitus, like his friend Pliny the Younger, held public office, e.g., as proconsul of Asia. He was a participant in public affairs, therefore, as well as a critical observer and annalist. His longest works were the *Histories* and the *Annals.* In the *Annals,* as elsewhere in his writings, Tacitus is severely critical of Roman decadence. The reference to the Christians and to Christus here quoted occurs in a description of Roman degradation under Nero.]

The Neronian Persecution, 64

But all the endeavors of men, all the emperor's largesse and the propitiations of the gods, did not suffice to allay the scandal or banish the belief that the fire had been ordered. And so, to get rid of this rumor, Nero set up as the culprits and punished with the utmost refinement of cruelty a class hated for their abominations, who are commonly called Christians. Christus, from whom their name is derived, was executed at the hands of the procurator Pontius Pilate in the reign of Tiberius. Checked for the moment, this pernicious superstition again broke out, not only in Judaea, the source of the evil, but even in Rome, that receptacle for everything that is sordid and degrading from every quarter of the globe, which there finds a following. Accordingly, arrest was first made of those who confessed [sc. to being Christians]; then, on their evidence, an immense multitude was convicted, not so much on the charge of arson as because of hatred of the human race. Besides being put to death they were made to serve as objects of amusement; they were clad in the hides of beasts and torn to death by dogs; others were crucified, others set on fire to serve to illuminate the night when daylight failed. Nero had thrown open his grounds for the display, and was putting on a show in the circus, where he mingled with the people in the dress of charioteer or drove about in his chariot. All this gave rise to a feeling of pity, even towards men whose guilt merited the most exemplary punishment; for it was felt that they were being destroyed not for the public good but to gratify the cruelty of an individual.[28]

[28] *Annales* xv. 44, in Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church* (New York and London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1947), p. 3.

III. Suetonius (*c.* 75–160)[29]

[Seutonius, the Roman biographer, was for a brief time private secretary to the Emperor Hadrian. His chief surviving work is *De Vita Caesarum* (Concerning the Lives of the Caesars).]

The Expulsion of the Jews from Rome, *c.* 52

. . . Since the Jews were continually making disturbances at the instigation of Christus, he (Claudius) expelled them from Rome. . . .

IV. Talmudic Literature[30]

[According to Goldstein, there are only five authentic references to Christianity in the Talmud which come from the period of the Tannaim (teachers of the first two centuries A.D.). They are not found in the Mishna (completed about A.D. 200), the authoritative code which today forms the earlier stratum of both the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds, but in Baraithas and Toseftas. Baraithas are rabbinical traditions coming from the same period of time but not quoted in the Mishna. Toseftas are compilations of rabbinical tradition similar in form and scope to the Mishna. Some of the material seems earlier, some later than the Mishna. These sayings add little or nothing to our knowledge of Jesus, but they do indicate his historical existence.]

1. *Baraitha-Bab. Sanhedrin 43a.*

It has been taught (in a Baraitha): On the eve of Passover they hanged Yeshu. And an announcer went out, in front of him, for forty days (saying): "He is going to be stoned, because he practiced sorcery and enticed and led Israel astray. Anyone who knows anything in his favor, let him come and plead in his behalf." But, not having found anything in his favor, they hanged him on the eve of Passover.

2. *Baraitha-Bab. Sanhedrin 43a.*

Our rabbis taught (in a Baraitha): Yeshu had five disciples—Mattai, Nakkai, Netzer, Buni, and Todah.

3. *Tosefta-Hullin II, 22, 23*

It happened with R. Elazar ben Damah, whom a serpent bit, that Jacob, a man of Kefar Soma, came to heal him in the name of Yeshua ben Pantera; but R. Ishmael did not let him. He said, "You are not

[29] *Vita Claudii* XXV. 4, Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church*, p. 4.

[30] Morris Goldstein, *Jesus in the Jewish Tradition* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1950), pp. 22 ff.

permitted, Ben Damah." He answered, "I will bring you proof that he may heal me." But he had no opportunity to bring proof, for he died. (Whereupon) R. Ishmael said, "Happy art thou, Ben Damah, for you have gone in peace and you have not broken down the fence of the Sages; since everyone who breaks down the fence of the Sages, to him punishment will ultimately come, as it is in Scripture: 'Whoso breaketh through a fence, a serpent shall bite him.' "

4. *Baraitha-Bab. Abodah Zarah 16b, 17a*
Tosefta-Hullin II, 24

Our rabbis teach (in a Baraitha): When R. Eliezer was arrested for *Minuth,* they brought him up to the tribunal for judgment. The court said to him, "Does an elder such as you occupy himself with such useless matters?" He answered: "I rely on the Judge." The court thought he said it concerning him, whereas he said it with reference to his Father Who is in Heaven. He (the court) said to him, "Since you have faith in me—dimissus—you are released."

When he returned home, his disciples came in to comfort him, but he would not accept their solace. R. Akiba said to him, "Rabbi, will you permit me to say a word of what you have taught me?" He replied, "Say (it)." Said he to him, "Rabbi, perhaps *Minuth* has come to hand and has pleased you; and on account of that, you were arrested." He replied, "Akiba, you reminded me! Once, I was walking on the upper street of Sepphoris and found one of the disciples of Yeshu the Nazarene, by the name of Jacob, a man of Kefar Sechanya. He said to me, 'It is written in your Torah: "Thou shalt not bring the hire of a harlot, etc." How about making with it a privy for the high priest?' But I did not answer him at all." He told me, "Thus did Yeshu the Nazarene teach me: 'For of the hire of a harlot hath she gathered them, And unto the hire of a harlot shall they return; from the place of filth they come, and unto the place of filth they shall go.' " And the utterance pleased me. On account of this, I was arrested for *Minuth.* And I transgressed against what is written in the Torah: "Remove thy way far from her"—that is *Minuth;* "and come not nigh the door of her house"—this is the government authority.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Read the references to Jesus in non-Christian literature in the Source Material. Do you consider the evidence of "hostile witnesses" of greater or less value in establishing the historicity of Jesus? Why?

2. Be able to discuss some of the methods and results of Gospel-research. Define the following: "Synoptic Gospels," "Synoptic problem," "Q," "Source Criticism," and "Form Criticism."
3. How much may be known or conjectured about the early years of Jesus, in spite of the paucity of material in the Gospels?
4. Was John the Baptist an Essene?
5. Did Jesus have any connection with the Essenes?
6. Why did Jesus seek baptism of John?
7. Did Jesus think of himself as the Messiah?
8. What scholarly advantage is there in the theory of an early Judean ministry along the general lines laid down in the Gospel of John?
9. Why did Jesus choose Capernaum as the headquarters for his Galilean ministry?
10. Which was more important in Jesus' ministry: preaching or healing?

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

ALLEGRO, J. M. *The Dead Sea Scrolls.* Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1956. Chap. xiii deals with "The Qumran Sect and Jesus." Appendix I discusses John the Baptist in relation to the Qumran monks.

BURROWS, MILLAR. *The Dead Sea Scrolls.* New York: The Viking Press, 1955. Chap. xv gives an excellent brief summary of "Contributions [of the Dead Sea Scrolls] to the Study of Judaism and Christianity."

_____. *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls.* New York: The Viking Press, 1958. Provides much more detailed information on relationship of Dead Sea Scrolls to our understanding of Jesus, John, and the early Christian movement.

DALMAN, GUSTAF. *Sacred Sites and Ways.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935. This is an outstanding work on the historical geography of Palestine. Especially useful for this discussion are chaps. iii, on "Nazareth," and iv, "At the Jordan and in the Desert."

FARMER, WILLIAM REUBEN. *Maccabees, Zealots, and Josephus.* New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1956. Chap. ii contains keys to the understanding and proper evaluation of Josephus' writings.

FINEGAN, JACK. *Light from the Ancient Past,* 2d ed. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1959. Contains considerable information not available at time of first edition (1946), particularly about the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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Chapter 10

THE LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF JESUS PART II

THE KINGDOM OF GOD. Mark 1:14–15 gives the following brief summary of Jesus' message that is accurate as far as it goes:

> Now after John was arrested, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God, and saying, "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe in the gospel."

The subject of Jesus' teaching here, and in Matthew and Luke as well, is the Kingdom of God. This is the keynote of his thought as a whole. Most of Jesus' teachings relate in some way to this subject. The parables of Jesus are almost all parables of the Kingdom. The Sermon on the Mount is devoted exclusively to the privileges and duties of membership in the Kingdom. And yet nowhere in the Gospels does Jesus define the meaning of the phrase Kingdom of God. There is however nothing strange in this omission in the Gospels, for the Kingdom of God, or the Kingdom of Heaven as Matthew consistently terms it, was something which needed no explanation for Jesus' audiences. It was a dominant pattern of Jewish thought in the time of Jesus.[1] The roots of the concept go back into early Hebrew history and the theocratic viewpoint in which the nation was conceived of as being under the kingship of God. The essence of the Kingdom of God is God's *rule*, or the reign of God, and the proper re-

[1] See E. F. Scott, *The Kingdom and the Messiah* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911); John Bright, *The Kingdom of God* (New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1953); Joseph Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925), pp. 398–407; Maurice Goguel, *The Life of Jesus* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1933), pp. 562–569; Vincent Taylor, *The Life and Ministry of Jesus* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1955), chaps. xiv, xv.

sponse of man is moral obedience. Thus in The Lord's Prayer we find in Matthew 6:10 the line, "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven." The primary reference is to God's relationship to man, not to a geographical place or to political dominion.

The eschatological framework of Jesus' teaching—literally the expectation of the "last days"—was a familiar feature of first-century Jewish expectation. The present age of the world was to end, there was to be a great Day of Judgment, after which would come a New Age, called variously the Kingdom of God, the Kingdom of Heaven, or the Days of the Messiah. This was the familiar pattern. There was an element of newness, however, in Jesus' proclamation that the time was "fulfilled" and that the Kingdom of God was "at hand." The Greek word for time in Mark 1:15 is *kairos* rather than *chronos*, time in the ordinary sense. *Kairos* refers to "the fullness of time," or "the decisive moment," and underlines the note of urgency in Jesus' announcement of the Kingdom of God; the long expected moment had arrived; the Kingdom of God was *at hand*. As Klausner points out, this was in marked contrast to the Pharisaic teaching of the day. To be sure, it was common belief that the Messiah could come at any time. The history of the first century A.D. in Jewish Palestine shows that a succession of Messianic claimants did in fact appear and win a considerable although short-lived following. A century later the Pharisee, Rabbi Akiba, accepted the Messianic claims of Bar Kochba and supported him in the revolt against Rome of 132–135. As a rule, however, the Pharisees adopted an ambiguous position. They were enthusiastic about the Messianic hope, but very reticent about the person of the Messiah himself and the time of his coming. "The kingdom of heaven, according to Jesus, is in the present. The kingdom of heaven, according to Judaism, is to be 'in the latter days.'"[2] Here then is a new emphasis in Jesus' teaching. The Kingdom of God is at hand; indeed, in some passages of the Gospels Jesus implies that the New Age has already dawned.

[2] Klausner, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

There is a second element of newness in Jesus' view of the Kingdom of God. Jesus, like John, preached the necessity of repentance. The Greek word for repentance used in the Gospels is *metanoia,* literally "a change of mind," which is equivalent to the Hebrew *teshubah,* "turning about," "facing the other way." The preaching of repentance follows upon Jesus' announcement of the soon-to-be-realized reign of God over human life. It is in this sense a "theology of crisis." As Bultmann comments, "now is the time of decision, and Jesus' call is the call to decision."[3] The experience of God's nearness and the vivid awareness of God's reality, and the fresh understanding of his character and purpose which go with this experience in the Gospels demand a radical transformation of values, such as has been described with historical imagination by Robert Browning in his narrative poem, *An Epistle, Containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, The Arab Physician,* in which the poet suggests the difference it might make to anyone who, like Lazarus, is given a glimpse of heaven and then returned to earth:

> Heaven opened to a soul while yet on earth,
> Earth forced on a soul's use while seeing heaven.

Both Jesus and John preached the necessity of repentance, but on the implications of this they parted company. John had accompanied the preaching of repentance with the requirement of bearing fruit worthy of repentance (Matt. 3:8; Luke 3:8), which implied that those who have repented, been baptized, and have demonstrated in their lives the "fruits of repentance" will have earned their entrance into the Kingdom of God upon the coming of the Messiah. It is here that Jesus differs with John and with customary Jewish teaching of the day. In circles emphasizing strict observance of the Law, it was believed that the coming of the Messiah depended upon Israel's repentance and perfect fulfilment of the Torah. "If all Israel would together repent for a whole day, the redemption by Messiah would ensue." If Israel

[3] Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), I, 9.

would keep the Sabbath perfectly two times in succession, the Messiah would come immediately.[4] The truly repentant, together with the righteous, will reap their reward, according to the teaching of the Talmud. Jesus puts entrance into the Kingdom of God upon a different basis. The initiative comes from God alone and has nothing to do with human merit and man's achievements. As Goguel describes it, "he (Jesus) does not say to his hearers: 'Repent and bring forth fruits worthy of repentance,' that is, 'make an effort which will make you worthy to enter the Kingdom of God,' but he says: 'When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants' " (Luke 17:10).[5] This does not mean that admission to the Kingdom of God is any less difficult as Jesus interpreted it. Quite the contrary, for Jesus compared the entrance to the Kingdom of God to the narrow gate of any walled city of ancient times, such as the Damascus Gate of the old city of Jerusalem today, and went on to say, "For the gate is narrow and the way is hard, that leads to life, and those who find it are few" (Matt. 7:13–14). What was new in Jesus' teaching was that the coming of the Kingdom and admission to it is to be a free gift of a loving God. This precious gift will be given to those who are morally prepared to receive it, and humble repentance, as illustrated in Jesus' Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican as well as in the first beatitude, is the basic characteristic of those who are spiritually fit.

Still another original element in Jesus' teaching is his consistent description of his message about the Kingdom of God as "good news." The Greek word for gospel (*evangelion*) was originally a common noun and meant literally "glad tidings," or "good news," long before it became a proper name for a particular type of religious literature. Here the vernacular translations, like that of Goodspeed, give the original meaning of Jesus' words: "The time has come and the reign of God is near; repent, and believe this good news" (Mark

[4] Emil Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891), Second Division, Vol. II, p. 163.

[5] Maurice Goguel, *op. cit.*, p. 559.

1:15). The note of urgency in Jesus' preaching is thus combined with joyous expectation, a fact which should not be overlooked, since it truly reflects Jesus' religious outlook and because it helps to account for the warm response with which Jesus was received by the common people of Galilee.

A comparison between Jesus' ministry in this period and that of John the Baptist is instructive. Whereas John had practised asceticism, Jesus renounced it. When a complaint was brought to Jesus that his disciples did not fast as did the disciples of John the Baptist and the Pharisees (Matt. 9:14–17; Mark 2:18–22; Luke 5:33–39), he replied by comparing his mission to a wedding and terming it an occasion for rejoicing, not mourning: "Can the wedding guests fast while the bridegroom is with them?" John had retreated to the valley of the Jordan and compelled those who would hear him to seek him out in that desolate region, but Jesus remained among the people and preached to them in their familiar surroundings. John preached the coming judgment of God and was a prophet of doom. Jesus interpreted the same event as the day of salvation. The most common images of his teaching deal with this theme. They include the shepherd seeking his lost sheep, the physician coming to the sick, the messenger with an invitation to a banquet, and the like.[6]

All of the Gospels strike this same note, although each in its own way. The Gospel of John places the Wedding at Cana (John 2) at the very beginning of Jesus' ministry in Galilee, a narrative reported in no other Gospel, but which for John apparently struck the note and suggested the emotional tone he thought most appropriate to an interpretation of the life of Jesus. Matthew uses the symbolism of light shining in darkness, finding in the Book of Isaiah a passage which uses this image and also predicts that the Messiah's redemptive activity will take place in Galilee:

> The land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, toward the sea, across the Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles—the people who sat in dark-

[6] Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956), pp. 96–97.

ness have seen a great light, and for those who sat in the region and shadow of death light has dawned. (Matt. 4:15–16 quoted from Isaiah 9:1–2)

Luke chooses for the opening episode in his account of the Galilean ministry the story of Jesus' visit to Nazareth and reading in the synagogue the Messianic words from Isaiah 61:

> The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord. (Luke 4:18–19)

Modern poets and painters have resorted to strikingly similar imagery to give their impressions of this basic meaning of the Gospels. The Jesuit poet Gerard Manley Hopkins has transcribed this message of hope into the words of his poem "The Grandeur of God":

> The world is charged with the grandeur of God
>
> . . . . .
>
> There lives the dearest freshness deep down things;
> And though the last lights off the black West went
> Oh, morning, at the brown brink eastward, springs—
> Because the Holy Ghost over the bent
> World broods with warm breast and with ah! bright wings.

Fritz Eichenburg, the book illustrator, has made a striking woodcut, called "The Light," in which the central feature is a radiance emanating from a figure only partially etched into the edge of the picture, but from which a light streams out and illumines the faces of the lame and the blind, young and old, light-skinned and dark-skinned among the figures huddled together, all of whom are looking, a few fearfully, but most of them hopefully and lovingly, toward the source of light. The hope expressed in these faces is of the essence of the Gospel message.

The basis of this hope in Jesus' teaching and the fundamental part of his message was his knowledge of God. It is

not the first-century eschatological framework of his thinking which really matters. The sudden end of the age anticipated by Jesus and all those who shared this ancient world-view never came to pass. The primary and enduring factor is Jesus' direct consciousness of God and his understanding of God's character and purpose along with a sense of the moral requirements for human life which derive from that understanding. The note of authority in Jesus' life proceeds directly out of an immediate awareness of the reality and nearness of God, and of a knowledge by Jesus of his special relationship to God. This can be seen in Luke 17:21, even though the Revised Standard Version translates it, "Behold, the kingdom of God is in the midst of you," and not "within you," as the King James version has it. The passage reflects Jesus' sense of the immediate presence of God. Frank C. Laubach, in his book, *Letters by a Modern Mystic*, helps us to understand something of this experience:

> As I analyze myself I find several things happening to me as a result of these two months of strenuous effort to keep God in mind every minute. This concentration upon God is strenuous, but everything else has ceased to be so. I think more clearly, I forget less frequently. Things which I did with a strain before, I now do easily and with no effort whatever. I worry about nothing and lose no sleep. I walk on air a good part of the time. Even the mirror reveals a new light in my eyes and face. I no longer feel in a hurry about anything. Everything goes right. Each minute I meet calmly as though it were not important. Nothing can go wrong excepting one thing. That is that God may slip from my mind if I do not keep on my guard. If He is there, the universe is with me. My task is simple and clear . . . What I want to prove is that the thing can be done by all people under all conditions, but I have not proven it yet. This much I do see —what an incredibly high thing Jesus did.[7]

Jesus' unique understanding of God grew out of his experience of sonship. He consistently spoke of God as Father and it was his aim to lead others into the relationship of children to God. In the Garden of Gethsemane, Jesus prayed, "Abba, Father, all things are possible to thee; remove this cup from me;

[7] *Letters by a Modern Mystic* (privately printed by Frank C. Laubach, New York, Copyright, 1955), pp. 24–25.

yet not what I will, but what thou wilt" (Mark 14:36). Paul, writing to the Galatians, refers to Jesus' emphasis upon sonship and quotes the Aramaic word used by Jesus in referring to God as Father: "And because you are sons, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, 'Abba! Father!'" (Gal. 4:6). This accounts for the unique emphasis of Jesus in his teachings upon the divine mercy, the forgiving love of God. It does not mean that Jesus' view of God was fundamentally different from that of Jewish contemporaries. Theoretically, Jesus' view of God was identical with the thought of Judaism in his day. It can be shown that the God of Jesus was the God of the Old Testament, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Matt. 22:32), Creator of the universe, omnipotent, holy, perfect in his goodness. And yet there is a difference of emphasis. As Klausner remarks, "The phrase 'Our Father, who art in heaven' is so common in Talmudic literature as to render quotation superfluous for those with some knowledge of Hebrew . . . Jesus, however, makes far more use of such expressions as 'Father,' 'My Father,' 'My Father in heaven,' than do the Pharisees and Tannaim. . . ."[8]

The special character of Jesus' teaching about God and its consequences in the moral requirements upon human life are seen most clearly in a considerable group of parables in which Jesus proclaims God's mercy for sinners and those generally regarded by religious leaders of the Jewish community as outside the pale of acceptance. Such are the Parables of the Lost Sheep, the Lost Coin, and the Lost (or Prodigal) Son, all found in Luke 15. Others are the Woman with the Ointment (Luke 7:36–50), the Pharisee and the Publican (Luke 18:9–14), and the Parable of the Two Sons (Matt. 21:28–32). It is a fact of additional importance that each of the parables in this group was addressed not to the poor and sinful, but to the Scribes and Pharisees, as, for example, Luke 15:2 indicates. These are thus shown to be controversial passages in which the basic issue between Jesus and the Pharisees becomes clear. Here as in the comparison between the Old

[8] *Op. cit.*, pp. 377–378.

Law and the New in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:17–48), Jesus interprets the Law in terms of the spirit rather than the letter and calls for an imitation of God conceived in terms of love. Similarly, in the synoptic passage dealing with The Great Commandment (Matt. 22:34–40; Mark 12:28–34; Luke 10:25–38), Jesus interprets the whole Law in terms of the love of God and love of one's neighbor.

Two modern Jewish scholars evaluate this emphasis of Jesus upon the divine mercy very differently, but both find in it evidence of a distinct originality. According to Klausner, Judaism could not accept the God of Jesus, because

> He is not the God of justice . . . sinners and non-sinners, evil and good, ungodly and righteous, all alike are of the same worth in God's sight. It follows, therefore, that God is not absolute righteousness.[9]

Montefiore, on the other hand, referring to the parables of Luke 15, writes:

> Surely this is a new note, something which we have not yet heard in the Old Testament or of *its* heroes, something which we do not hear in the Talmud or of its heroes . . . The virtues of repentance are gloriously praised in the rabbinical literature, but this direct search for, and appeal to, the sinner, are new and moving notes of high import and significance. The good shepherd who searches for the lost sheep, and reclaims it and rejoices over it, is a new figure, which has never ceased to play its great part in the moral and religious development of the world.[10]

There is in Jesus' view of God a high degree of optimism, but as Goguel points out,[11] this optimism about God is saved from any touch of sentimentalism by a realism about human nature. "If you then, who are evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Father who is in heaven give good things to those who ask him?" (Matt. 7:11). Jesus has no confidence in the ability of men to bring in the Kingdom of God by their own efforts, and yet, as

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 379.
[10] Claude G. Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927), II, 520–521.
[11] Goguel, *op. cit.*, pp. 558–559.

Goguel goes on to say in the passage already cited, "the pessimism of Jesus regarding merely human effort is only equalled by his optimism when he turns to God. The idea that God could possibly be finally thwarted and defeated by the powers of evil never even enters his mind."

The masses of Galilee responded to Jesus' proclamation of the Kingdom with enthusiasm, even excitement, although in the light of later events it may be questioned if they really understood him. On the day when Jesus visited the Capernaum synagogue, "the whole city was gathered together about the door" (Mark 1:38). When Jesus left Capernaum temporarily, apparently to extend his work to other places (Mark 1:35–38 and Luke 4:42–43), the crowds followed him and were unwilling to let him go. Upon his return to Capernaum, Jesus found the response as eager as before (Mark 2:1 ff.). Luke's statement in his account of the visit to Nazareth that Jesus went to the synagogue "as his custom was" (Luke 4:16) is in harmony with all that we know about the early ministry, although later on the synagogues were to close their doors to Jesus. The rejection at Nazareth fits better into a later period of the Galilean ministry, where Mark and Matthew place it, rather than at the very beginning as reported in Luke 4:16–30. Jesus preached out-of-doors as well as indoors, on the mountainside (Matt. 5:1), in the desert regions (Mark 6:35), in Peter's boat with crowds gathered on the shore (Matt. 13:2), in villages and hamlets, as well as in the larger towns like Capernaum. Klausner thinks that Jesus' apparent preference for the smaller places and the open countryside rather than the towns and cities was not accidental but a precaution made necessary by the growing suspicion he was arousing among the authorities.[12]

Interruption of the Galilean Ministry. For a few months—or even a full year[13]—Jesus continued his public

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 373.

[13] "From one spring to another," according to A. M. Hunter, *The Work and Words of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956), p. 47; from spring to September, according to Goguel, *op. cit.*, p. 252. See also discussion of chronology in C. J. Cadoux, *Life of Jesus* (West Drayton, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1948), pp. 41 ff., 89 ff.

ministry in Galilee, but then, after a period of withdrawal, devoted himself exclusively to the training of an inner circle of disciples until his final departure from Galilee and the journey to Jerusalem. Jesus' conversation with his disciples on the way to Caesarea Philippi (Mark 8:27–33) is usually described as the dividing line between the early and late phases of the Galilean period. The significant feature of Jesus' conversation with his disciples on the way to Caesarea Philippi is not his tacit acceptance of the title of Messiah. It is his conception of a suffering Messiah and his subsequent emphasis upon the Way of the Cross. The newness of this aspect of Jesus' teaching is indicated by the shocked surprise of the disciples, voiced in Peter's rebuke. The disciples were obviously thinking in terms of the "Son of David" conception of Messiahship,[14] of King-Messiahship, with which thoughts of suffering and death or even temporary defeat had never been associated, were indeed inconceivable. The stern words with which Jesus replied to Peter have a double significance. They not only indicate Jesus' decisive rejection of political Messianism as the key to national salvation, but they also reflect a deepened consciousness on Jesus' part of his own role in this period of crisis, a role accepted in full awareness of the sacrifices it must inevitably require of him and his true followers.

The abrupt transition in the Galilean ministry which we have described raises many questions. Why did Jesus discontinue his ministry of preaching and healing in Galilee? What caused him to recast his mission in life in this tragic pattern?

Many factors, no doubt, led Jesus to rethink his public ministry. One of these was increasing opposition to his work. Mark 7:1, with its reference to "some of the scribes, who had come from Jerusalem," shows that the synagogue leaders had turned against Jesus. The synagogue opposition described in this passage included local Pharisees, perhaps lay sympathizers, and authorities who may have been spe-

[14] See Appendix A for example of Son of David type of Messianic expectation and Appendix B for example of Son of Man concept.

cially invited to come from Jerusalem to deal with Jesus. Different charges against Jesus by the Pharisees are listed in the controversy passages: the charge of blasphemy for telling the paralytic that his sins were forgiven (Mark 2:1–12); violation of the Sabbath (Mark 3:1–5), or defense of his disciples when they had broken it (Mark 2:23–28); the accusation that his authority in casting out demons came not from God but from Beelzebub (Mark 3:22).

The insinuation that Jesus' power to cast out demons came from Satan may throw some light upon Jesus rejection at Nazareth and the questioning of Jesus' authority: "Where did this man get all this? What is the wisdom given to him? What mighty works are wrought by his hands!" (Mark 6:2). The explanation given in the narrative itself is that "a prophet is not without honor except in his own country, and among his own kin, and in his own home . . ." (Mark 6:4), but the rejection in the synagogue is made more understandable if the opposition of synagogue leaders is taken into account. Never again in Mark's account does Jesus preach in a synagogue. From this time on the synagogues of Galilee are closed to him, "and he went about among the villages teaching" (Mark 6:6).

The suspicions deliberately aroused by the hostile scribes from Jerusalem succeeded in stirring doubts in the minds even of some of those closest to Jesus. On one occasion some of his own friends (literally, "those with him") tried to restrain him, "for they said, He is beside himself" (Mark 3:21). This may also be the background of the episode involving Jesus' mother and brothers (Mark 3:31–35), who may have been disturbed by the rumor that Jesus was mentally unbalanced and had thus come to save him from himself. Jesus' refusal to heed his mother and brothers, or even to speak with them in person, must have seemed very harsh to members of a Jewish audience brought up on the Decalogue with its command, "Honor your father and your mother . . ." Yet the saying of Jesus is one of the most authentic in the Gospels: "Who are my mother and my brothers? . . . Whoever does the will of God is my brother,

and sister, and mother." There are times, according to Jesus, when one must subordinate the demands of one's immediate human family to the needs of the larger family of God.

It has sometimes been conjectured that Jesus abandoned his public mission in Galilee and devoted himself to the training of the inner circle of disciples because he had lost popularity with the masses of the people. There is little evidence in the Gospels to support such a theory and the truth appears to be just the opposite. It was his popular success—combined with the popular misconception of his purpose—which forced Jesus to alter the pattern of his ministry. There may be some understandable exaggeration in the descriptions given in the Gospels of the crowds which followed Jesus, such as Matthew's statement (4:25) preceding the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5–7). Nevertheless, the determined opposition of the synagogue leadership and the calling to Galilee of religious authorities from Jerusalem can be explained only on the basis of a strong popular following.

There can be little doubt that the popular enthusiasm increased rather than diminished. Ironically, it was the expansion of Jesus' public ministry in the sending out of the twelve (Mark 6:6–13) which called the attention of Herod Antipas to Jesus (Mark 6:14–16). The ground of political expediency which Josephus gives (*Antiquities*, XVIII, v, 2) for the arrest of John, although it is not mentioned in the Gospels, gives a convincing clue to the reason for Antipas' interest in Jesus. He saw in Jesus a potentially dangerous agitator. The fusing of religious and political opposition to Jesus' work in Galilee may been seen in the undated statement of Mark 3:6 that "the Pharisees went out, and immediately held counsel with the Herodians against him, how to destroy him." Another undated synoptic passage (Luke 13: 31–33) has direct bearing upon Jesus' departure from Galilee and fits well the context of Mark 6:14–16. It contains the warning of friendly Pharisees, "Get away from here, for Herod wants to kill you." The reply of Jesus indicates that the motive of his departure was not fear of Herod. "Go and tell that fox, 'Behold, I cast out demons and perform cures

today and tomorrow, and the third day I finish my course. Nevertheless I must go on my way today and tomorrow and the day following; for it cannot be that a prophet should perish away from Jerusalem.' "

It was Herod's decision to kill Jesus that caused the interruption of Jesus' ministry[15] and the eventual discontinuation of his preaching of repentance. It marks the turning point of the Galilean ministry. The immediate effect of Herod's hostility, however, was to increase Jesus' popularity with the masses of the people. This is portrayed in the story of the feeding of the five thousand in all four gospels (Matt. 14:13–21; Mark 6:30–44; Luke 9:10–17; John 6:1–15; and repeated in Mark 8:1–10 and Matt. 15:32–39 as the feeding of the four thousand). This passage represents in Mark the climax of Jesus' proclamation of the Kingdom of God. It is Jesus' last attempt to convert the mass audiences of Galilee to his view of the Kingdom. The central feature of the narrative is the Messianic banquet, a familiar aspect of Jewish expectation concerning the Messianic Age (cf. Isaiah 25:6 and Qumran Manual of Discipline).[16]

What was the nature of the incident on which the narrative of the feeding of the multitudes was based?

> Surely it is inadequate to suggest that this story arose from the example of generous sharing which Jesus set during an afternoon picnic by the lakeside. But a literal multiplication of food is difficult to defend for one who called the turning of stones into bread a temptation of the devil, and who refused to give any sign from heaven to legitimate his ministry. The most probable theory is that before his retirement from Galilee Jesus celebrated a meal with a large company of followers in anticipation of the banquet of the kingdom of God . . .[17]

It tells us something of Jesus' character and expectations at this time that he should make of this hastily prepared wilderness meal a symbol of the coming Messianic banquet. It shows that he still believed wholeheartedly in the imminent coming of the Kingdom of God. Goguel goes even further:

[15] According to Goguel, *op. cit.*, p. 350.
[16] See Appendix C.
[17] Clarence T. Craig, *The Beginning of Christianity* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1943), p. 118.

"His thought seems to become more definite. By presiding over the meal in the desert, does he not mean that he also will preside at the Messianic Feast?"[18] The religious rather than political intention of Jesus should have been clear. Yet it was not clear to the Galilean following of Jesus who waited anxiously to see how Jesus would react to Herod's threat. Would Jesus give up his preaching and withdraw from Galilee? Or would he stand up to Herod and fight? Mark's description of the crowds at the place of the feeding of the multitudes suggests vividly the mass excitement. It had been Jesus' intention to take his disciples to a lonely place on the eastern side of the lake for solitude and rest, and no doubt intimate conversation. This was made impossible "because many saw them going, and knew them, and they ran there on foot from all the towns, and got there ahead of them" (Mark 6:33). Similarly, upon the return of Jesus and his disciples in a boat to the shores of Gennesaret, it is Mark alone who brings in the vivid words and phrases italicized in the following quotation: "*And when they got out of the boat, immediately* the people recognized him, and *ran about the whole neighborhood* and *began to bring* sick people *on their pallets to any place where they heard he was*" (Mark 6:54–55). Apparently they thought this might be their last chance in view of impending events. John's Gospel reports that the people took the multiplication of the loaves and fishes as a Messianic sign and tried to "take him by force to make him king" (6:14–15). The Synoptic Gospels portray Jesus as refusing at any time to give a sign, but it has been conjectured that the request for a sign in Mark 8:11–13 and parallels may have come not from the Pharisees but from the Zealots who were burning to precipitate the national revolution. Jesus' refusal to give a sign, except the sign of Jonah (Matt. 16:4; 12:29; Luke 11:29), which is a sign of repentance, indicates the unbridgeable chasm between his thinking about the Kingdom and that of the masses.

Jesus' preaching of repentance as the necessary preparation for the coming of the Kingdom had failed, at least in Galilee. It is in this light that we may understand the woes

[18] Goguel, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

upon the cities of Galilee: "Woe to you, Chorazin! woe to you, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago" (Matt. 11:21). It is at this point and for this reason that Jesus lost his popular following in Galilee. The people were looking for a King-Messiah, and this Jesus refused to be. At the end of the sermon in the synagogue at Capernaum following the meal in the wilderness, "many of his disciples drew back and no longer went about with him" (John 6:66). The preaching of repentance had not achieved its purpose.

Soon afterward Jesus withdrew from Galilee and went to the region of Tyre, seeking retirement.[19] Mark reports that "he entered a house and would not have any one know it; yet he could not be hid" (7:24). However, the only person with whom he is said to have spoken was the Syrophoenician woman. The harsh words with which Jesus responded to this woman's request, "Let the children first be fed, for it is not right to take the children's bread and throw it to the dogs," suggest that Jesus was preoccupied with the failure of the people of Galilee to understand and respond to his preaching of repentance. The witty response of the woman pleased Jesus and drew from him sympathetic assurance that her daughter was well, which proved to be the case.

The fact that Jesus saw no one except the Syrophoenician woman indicates that he wanted an opportunity for solitary reflection upon the meaning of events in Galilee. Similarly, after his baptism, Jesus had withdrawn for reflection and meditation. The result of this period of retirement and prayerful rethinking of his mission in life is indicated by a change of emphasis in his teaching from this time on:

> . . . it was with tension relieved and a solution reached that he returned to his disciples . . . He knew that it was not enough to summon men to repent, not enough to await God's good pleasure in the giving of the kingdom (Luke 12:32). As the prophet had long ago seen, the servant of the Lord must suffer (Isa. 53), and if the servant, then the Son of man, since the two were one. No more original or

[19] For a reconstruction of the order of events following the wilderness meal, see Vincent Taylor in *The Interpreter's Bible,* Vol. VII (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1951), 128 ff.

far-reaching inference has been drawn in the history of religion, and it is far more reasonable to believe that it was made by Jesus himself rather than at a later date by the Christian community . . . We do not need to decide whether the idea was communal or personal in its reference, since probably it was both. The elect community of God was a suffering and a saving remnant, and it was his mission as the head of that community, the Son of man indeed, to "suffer many things, and be set at nought" (Mark 9:12b). So, and so only, could the rule of God come. With such thoughts he left Tyrian country to rejoin his disciples . . .[20]

JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM. Jesus returned from Tyre and soon thereafter journeyed with his disciples in the direction of Caesarea Philippi—again, be it noted, in exile from Galilee and outside the reach of Herod Antipas. Here began a period of intensive training of the disciples in the new teaching of the suffering Messiah. "Who do men say that I am?" Jesus asked his disciples. They answered that some thought he was John the Baptist, while others said Elijah, and still others, one of the prophets. Then Jesus asked his second question, "But who do you say that I am?" Peter replied, "Thou art the Christ (Messiah)" (Mark 8:27–33). To Peter's declaration Jesus gave tacit assent, but at once interpreted it in terms of necessary suffering and rejection. "And he began to teach them that the Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the elders and the chief priests and the scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again" (Mark 8:31). This prediction of suffering is twice repeated in Mark (9:31; 10:33–34). In all three passages it is necessary to make allowance for the fact that the account was written after Jesus' martyr-death and resurrection had become a part of Christian tradition. Yet the teaching of suffering and rejection is authentic, as stated in Luke 17:25 where no reference is made to death or resurrection: "But first he [the Son of man] must suffer many things and be rejected by this generation." The strongest proof of the authenticity of Jesus' teaching about the necessity of suffering comes from the complete disbelief on the part of Peter (Mark 8:32–33) and of the other disciples nearest to Jesus (Mark 10:35–45; Matt. 20:20–28). It is clear that at this time the disciples

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

were thinking of Jesus in terms of the Davidic Messiah, not the suffering Son of Man. The story of the Transfiguration of Jesus (Mark 9:2–8; Matt. 17:1–8; Luke 9:28–36) is difficult to interpret, but the statement that "he was transfigured before them" may indicate that this was a moment when the disciples gained a deeper insight into Jesus' nature and mission. Soon afterward Jesus and his disciples began the journey to Jerusalem which was to end with his death.

Present study of the Gospels suggests a longer period in Jerusalem and Judea than the six days of passion week reported in the Gospel of Mark. Various passages in the Gospels suggest a longer residence which may properly be called a ministry of teaching in Judea. In Mark 14:49 Jesus is quoted as saying, "Day after day I was with you in the temple teaching, and you did not seize me. . . ." Luke says in one place, "And he was teaching daily in the temple" (19:47), and in another place, "And every day he was teaching in the temple, but at night he went out and lodged on the mount called Olivet. And early in the morning all the people came to him in the temple to hear him" (21:37–38). The Gospel of John gives a vivid glimpse of Jesus preaching in Solomon's Court during the winter season. "It was the feast of the Dedication at Jerusalem; it was winter, and Jesus was walking in the temple, in the portico of Solomon" (located on the eastern side of the Court of the Gentiles and protected from the wind[21]) (John 10:22). The Judean ministry occupies five long chapters of this Gospel. On the basis of a comparative study of the Gospels, Goguel concludes that the final ministry of Jesus in Judea lasted approximately six months.[22]

[21] W. F. Howard, in *The Interpreter's Bible,* Vol. VIII (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1952), p. 448.

[22] Note the following chronology of the entire period of the life of Jesus taken from Goguel, *Life of Jesus,* p. 252: "At the close of the year 26, or at the beginning of the year 27, he is with John the Baptist in the neighbourhood of the Jordan. In the spring of 27 he leaves John the Baptist and returns into Galilee where he begins his actual ministry. This he carries on till the month of September. At this moment he definitely leaves Galilee and comes to work in Jerusalem. He stays there till the month of December, then he retires to a solitary place some distance from Jerusalem, while he remains in contact with the disciples he has gained in Jerusalem. On the eve of the Passover of 28 he returns to Jerusalem and there meets his death."

The pattern of Jesus' ministry in Jerusalem has a number of features in common with that of his ministry in Galilee. The subject of his teaching continued to be the Kingdom of God, even to the very end, as Jesus' words at the Last Supper indicate (Mark 14:25). Jesus found much favor with the citizens of Jerusalem. This very popularity accounts both for the resistance of the religious leaders and their hesitation to arrest him (Mark 12:12; Luke 19:47–48; John 7:44). The opponents of Jesus are the same as in Galilee, with one important difference. They are named variously "the chief priests and the scribes and the elders" (Mark 11:27), "some of the Pharisees and some of the Herodians" (Mark 12:13), "Sadducees" (Mark 12:18), "the chief priests and the scribes and the principal men of the people" (Luke 19:47), "the chief priests and the Pharisees" (John 7:32). The chief difference from the situation in Galilee is that the initiative now appears to come from the high priests and their party, the Sadducees, with support from the Pharisees. The "Herodians" in Jerusalem would not be supporters of Herod Antipas as in Galilee, but rather those who favored a return to the throne of someone from the House of Herod in place of Archelaus, who had been deposed in A.D. 6.

In his relationship to those in the seats of religious authority, Jesus went further than he had in Galilee. He charged the Sadducees with profanation of the Temple (Mark 11:15–19), a betrayal of a solemn trust. He charged the Pharisees with hypocrisy and superstitious reverence for the letter of the Law rather than a concern for its more profound teachings (Mark 12:28–34; 12:37b–40). Whereas in Galilee Jesus had been a prophet preaching repentance, he now appeared to challenge those in authority over the religious life of the nation. The challenge was accepted and a bitter struggle ensued. The basic issue was not his preaching of the Kingdom of God; rather Jesus was pressed to establish his religious authority (Mark 11:27–33). This is the reason for the question asked in John 10:24, "How long will you keep us in suspense? If you are the Christ, tell us plainly."

Goguel attaches great importance to Jesus' prediction of the destruction of the Temple. The passage is vividly writ-

ten, introduced by the naive wonder of one of his disciples before the splendor of the Temple buildings: "And as he came out of the temple, one of his disciples said to him, 'Look, Teacher, what wonderful stones and what wonderful buildings!' And Jesus said to him, 'Do you see these great buildings? There will not be left here one stone upon another, that will not be thrown down'" (Mark 13:1–4). This, according to Goguel, is the saying which caused the condemnation of Jesus, and this rather than the cleansing of the Temple is responsible for the action described in Mark 11:18: "And the scribes and the chief priests heard it, and sought how they might destroy him; for they feared him, because all the multitude was astonished at his teaching." However, it was not the prediction of the destruction of the Temple in itself which caused Jesus' condemnation. Earlier prophets had made similar predictions and their lives had been spared (Micah 3:12; Jer. 7:11–15). Goguel cites the example of another Jesus, a son of Ananias, who appeared in the Temple in A.D. 62 and predicted its destruction, but after scourging and examination, was left at liberty.

> . . . to announce a disaster which would come upon Jerusalem was neither a blasphemy nor a crime. A person who uttered such a prophecy might be considered tiresome. If he were too insistent he might be accused of disturbing public order, but even then he would not be treated as a blasphemer, but simply handed over to the Roman tribunal. *The particular point in this saying for which his enemies condemned him was his declaration that it was he who would destroy the Temple.* The parallelism between this saying and the prophecy of Mark xiii. 1–2, which might very well be simply a modified variant of the declaration of Jesus that he would destroy the Temple, is therefore only apparent.[23]

The words about the Temple brought the issue between Jesus and official Judaism to a crisis. His words of despair about the Temple—and by implication about Judaism as an instrument of God's will—placed him outside the religious life of his day, made him a heretic in the eyes of the custodians of the religious-national life. In the Synoptic Gospels the prediction of the destruction of the Temple is followed by the somber language of Mark 13 with its reference to a

[23] *Op. cit.*, pp. 419–420.

time of troubles and the coming of the Son of Man. This may well have been the mood of Jesus and the tenor of his thought at this period. Taylor thinks that the words about the destruction of the Temple in Mark 13:2 and their sequel imply that Jesus foresaw the calamities that were to befall Jerusalem.[24] The lament over Jerusalem reflects this mood, no matter at which particular moment the words were uttered. However, as Taylor also stresses, Jesus' mind must have been preoccupied with the imminent prospect of his own suffering and death and its Messianic connotation.

It is at this point in the Jerusalem ministry that Jesus withdrew to Perea. "He went away again across the Jordan to the place where John at first baptized, and there he remained" (John 10:40). "Jesus therefore no longer went about openly among the Jews, but went from there to the country near the wilderness, to a town called Ephraim; and there he stayed with the disciples" (John 11:54). His purpose was no doubt to seek opportunity for reflection just as he had done in the period of retirement following his Galilean ministry. Two reasons seem to have compelled Jesus' retirement to Ephraim. First, despite his popularity with the crowds of Jerusalem, the people had again failed to understand his real meaning. Second, he was now opposed by the leaders of the people. His retirement then was for the purpose of meditating upon his impending martyrdom in Jerusalem.

The Gospel of John reflects the suspense in Jerusalem about the return of Jesus for the Passover feast:

> Now the Passover of the Jews was at hand, and many went up from the country to Jerusalem before the Passover, to purify themselves. They were looking for Jesus and saying to one another as they stood in the temple, "What do you think? That he will not come to the feast?" Now the chief priests and the Pharisees had given orders that if any one knew where he was, he should let them know, so that they might arrest him. (John 11:55–57)

It is in this context that the return of Jesus from Perea is to be placed. If he had had any thoughts of a continued teaching ministry in Jerusalem, they would have been quickly dispelled upon arrival in the city. Jesus knew that the Last

[24] *The Interpreter's Bible,* Vol. VII, p. 135.

Supper with his disciples would in reality be the last. Indeed, the day of the supper seems to have been advanced by twenty-four hours, if we follow John's dating of it on the fourteenth of Nisan, since the meal appears to have been planned as a Passover meal but shared with his disciples a day earlier. The betrayal by Judas may have been a betrayal only of the place where Jesus was to be found, although the modern theory that he betrayed Jesus' Messianic secret is also possible.

Considerable discussion has also been given to the legitimacy of the trial of Jesus before the Sanhedrin, since the procedure in the Gospels is not in accordance with the spirit and method of the Mishna. Klausner offers a solution by referring to the recent discovery in Egypt of papyri referring to the Roman period, in which it is shown that the Roman governors delegated to local authorities the conduct of preliminary investigations. "This affords a basis for assuming that the Jerusalem Sanhedrin, also, possessed the right to make such preliminary investigation, in order to submit the results to the Roman procurator."[25]

In the hearing before the Sanhedrin the charge against Jesus is one of blasphemy, following upon Jesus' answer to the question, "Are you the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" The wording of Jesus' reply varies in the different Gospels. Mark alone gives a direct affirmative, "I am" (14:62). Some manuscripts of Mark, as Taylor points out, qualify Jesus' reply by wording it "Thou saidst that I am." "No answer could show more clearly how much Jesus disliked the title 'Messiah,' not because he rejected the office, but because his interpretation of it and that of the priests were poles apart."[26] The blasphemy lies not in acceptance of the title of Messiah, but rather in the rest of Jesus' reply, "and you will see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven."

Although there is some doubt about this, the implication of the Gospels is that the power of capital punishment lay

[25] *Op. cit.*, pp. 333–334.
[26] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

with the Roman governor; thus the immediate responsibility for the execution of Jesus belongs to Pilate.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

The "Son of David" Messiah (Psalms of Solomon, 17:23–51)[27]

[The "Son of David" Messiah or Davidic Messiah was the concept of an earthly ruler who would deliver the Jewish people from oppression and rule the world in justice and peace. The portrayal of this King-Messiah was drawn from the idealized picture of David, the greatest king of Hebrew history, as he was remembered in late Jewish tradition. The Psalms of Solomon consist of eighteen psalms, Palestinian in origin, originally composed in Hebrew but now existing only in Greek translation, which may be dated about the middle of the first century B.C. They reflect the religious viewpoint of the Pharisees in opposition to the Maccabean party.]

Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their king, the son of David,
At the time in which Thou seest, O God, that he may reign over Israel Thy servant.
And gird him with strength, that he may shatter unrighteous rulers,
And that he may purge Jerusalem from nations that trample her down to destruction.
Wisely, righteously he shall thrust out sinners from (the) inheritance.
He shall destroy the pride of the sinner as a potter's vessel.
With a rod of iron he shall break in pieces all their substance,
He shall destroy the godless nations with the word of his mouth;
At his rebuke nations shall flee before him,
And he shall reprove sinners for the thoughts of their heart.
And he shall gather together a holy people, whom he shall lead in righteousness,
And he shall judge the tribes of the people that has been sanctified by the Lord his God.
And he shall not suffer unrighteousness to lodge any more in their midst,
Nor shall there dwell with them any man that knoweth wickedness,

[27] R. H. Charles (ed.), *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), pp. 649–651.

For he shall know them, that they are all sons of their God.
And he shall divide them according to their tribes upon the land,
And neither sojourner nor alien shall sojourn with them any more.
He shall judge peoples and nations in the wisdom of his righteousness.
And he shall have the heathen nations to serve him under his yoke;
And he shall glorify the Lord in a place to be seen of (?) all the earth;
And he shall purge Jerusalem, making it holy as of old:
So that nations shall come from the ends of the earth to see his glory,
Bringing as gifts her sons who had fainted,
And to see the glory of the Lord, wherewith God hath glorified her.
And he (shall be) a righteous king, taught of God, over them,
And there shall be no unrighteousness in his days in their midst,
For all shall be holy and their king the anointed of the Lord.
For he shall not put his trust in horse and rider and bow,
Nor shall he multiply for himself gold and silver for war,
Nor shall he gather confidence from (?) a multitude (?) for the day of battle.
The Lord Himself is his king, the hope of him that is mighty through (his) hope in God.
All nations (shall be) in fear before him,
For he will smite the earth with the word of his mouth for ever.
He will bless the people of the Lord with wisdom and gladness,
And he himself (will be) pure from sin, so that he may rule a great people.
He will rebuke rulers, and remove sinners by the might of his word;
And (relying) upon his God, throughout his days he will not stumble;
For God will make him mighty by means of (His) holy spirit,
And wise by means of the spirit of understanding, with strength and righteousness.
And the blessing of the Lord (will be) with him: he will be strong and stumble not;
His hope (will be) in the Lord: who then can prevail against him?
(He will be) mighty in his works, and strong in the fear of God,
(He will be) shepherding the flock of the Lord faithfully and righteously,
And will suffer none among them to stumble in their pasture.
He will lead them all aright,
And there will be no pride among them that any among them should be oppressed.
This (will be) the majesty of the king of Israel whom God knoweth;

He will raise him up over the house of Israel to correct him.
His words (shall be) more refined than costly gold, the choicest;
In the assemblies he will judge the peoples, the tribes of the sanctified.
Blessed be they that shall be in those days,
In that they shall see the good fortune of Israel which God shall bring to pass in the gathering together of the tribes.
May the Lord hasten His mercy upon Israel!
May he deliver us from the uncleanness of unholy enemies!
The Lord Himself is our king for ever and ever.

Appendix B

The "Son of Man" Messiah (Enoch 46:1–8)[28]

[The "Son of Man" Messiah was a supernatural figure who would be God's agent in ushering in the End of the Age and the coming of the Kingdom of God. The Book of Enoch, from which the following passage is quoted, is a work of composite character, dating from the second to the first centuries B.C. It represents the opposite extreme in Messianic expectation from the "Son of David" type.]

And there I saw One who had a head of days,
And His head was white like wool,
And with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man,
And his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels.
And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, (and) why he went with the Head of Days? And he answered and said unto me:
This is the Son of man who hath righteousness,
With whom dwelleth righteousness,
And who revealeth all the treasures of that which is hidden,
Because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him,
And whose lot hath the pre-eminence before the Lord of Spirits in uprightness for ever.
And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen
Shall raise up the kings and the mighty from their seats,
[And the strong from their thrones]
And shall loosen the reins of the strong,

[28] R. H. Charles (ed.), *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, pp. 214–215.

And break the teeth of the sinners.
And he shall put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms
Because they do not extol and praise Him,
Nor humbly acknowledge whence the kingdom was bestowed upon them.
And he shall put down the countenance of the strong,
And shall fill them with shame.
And darkness shall be their dwelling,
And worms shall be their bed,
And they shall have no hope of rising from their beds,
Because they do not extol the name of the Lord of Spirits.
And these are they who judge the stars of heaven,
[And raise their hands against the Most High],
And tread upon the earth and dwell upon it.
And all their deeds manifest unrighteousness,
And their power rests upon their riches,
And their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands,
And they deny the name of the Lord of Spirits,
And they persecute the houses of His congregations,
And the faithful who hang upon the name of the Lord of Spirits.

Appendix C

Liturgy of the Common Meal of the Essenes[29]

[While this is the order of the Common Meal of the Qumran monks, the Common Meal was considered as an anticipation of the Messianic Banquet. This is made evident by the references to the priestly Messiah (represented by the chief priest of the community) and the Messiah of Israel in the introduction.]

This is the order of the session of the "Men of the Name Who Are Invited to the Feast" for the counsel of the Community when God sends the Messiah to be with them:

The Priest shall enter at the head of all the congregation of Israel and all the fathers of the Aaronids. . . . and they shall sit before him each according to his rank.

Next the Messiah of Israel shall enter, and the heads of the thousands of Israel shall sit before him each according to his rank. . . .

And they shall sit before the (two) of them, each according to his rank. . . .

[29] F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Interpreter's Bible*, Vol. XII (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1957), p. 665.

When they solemnly meet together at a table of communion or to drink the wine, and the common table is arranged and the wine is mixed for drinking, one shall not stretch out his hand to the first portion of bread or of the wine before the Priest; for he shall bless the first portion of the bread and the wine and shall stretch out his hand to the bread first of all. Next the Messiah of Israel shall stretch out his hand to the bread. Next all the congregation of the Community shall give thanks and partake, each according to his rank.

And they shall act according to this prescription whenever the meal is arranged when as many as ten solemnly meet together.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Explain the meaning of the phrase "Kingdom of God."
2. What elements of newness may be found in Jesus' teaching about the Kingdom of God?
3. What accounts for the hopeful note in Jesus' teaching? Was he a sentimental optimist?
4. Compare the two types of Messiahship exemplified in Appendices A and B. What was there about the "Son of David" type of Messiah which Jesus mistrusted?
5. Why did Jesus abandon his Galilean ministry? Was it because of a loss of popularity?
6. What deeper meaning may be found in the narrative of the feeding of the multitudes, in the light of the text and Appendix C?
7. Why did Jesus refuse to give a sign?
8. What was the purpose of the journey toward Caesarea Philippi?
9. Why did Jesus make his last journey to Jerusalem?
10. What role did he now assume? What became the basic issue between Jesus and religious officialdom?
11. Why was Jesus condemned to death?

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Chapter 11

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY

RESTORATION OF THE DISCIPLES' FAITH. The arrest, trial, and death of Jesus resulted in the temporary collapse of his disciples' hope in him. "And they all forsook him and fled" (Mark 14:50), and probably returned to Galilee. The apocryphal Gospel of Peter states that the disciples left Jerusalem in tears and grief, concerning which Goguel comments: "This statement is very likely to be true and very probably comes from an early tradition."[1] Yet a few days or a few weeks after Jesus' death his disciples had returned to Jerusalem. The upper room, presumably that in the home of Mary, the mother of John Mark (Acts 12:12), and the scene of the Last Supper of Jesus with his disciples, appears to be a center of the group. Peter is the unchallenged leader and the number of the company is given as "about a hundred and twenty" (Acts 1:15). Reference is made to the twelve, Matthias having been elected to take the place of Judas. The family of Jesus are now included in the larger group of followers, specific reference being made to "Mary the mother of Jesus" and to "his brothers" (Acts 1:14). These followers of Jesus, who, a little earlier, had been dejected and disconsolate, are now full of faith and expectant hope as they await the gift of the Holy Spirit promised by Jesus to his followers. The Day of Pentecost, when the gift of the Spirit was received and shared with three thousand others, is commonly regarded as the birthday of the Christian church.

This transformation in the disciples themselves is the historical fact on which the Christian church is founded. It was based upon the disciples' conviction of the resurrection of Jesus. Of the nature of the resurrection it has been said

[1] Maurice Goguel, *The Birth of Christianity* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1954), p. 59.

that it is a mystery and will always remain so. Theories of what happened differ widely even within the New Testament. Nevertheless, the fact remains that something happened which changed the followers of Jesus from discouraged and disillusioned men and women to persons full of a dynamic confidence that Jesus had overcome death and was present with them. All four Gospels report the empty tomb (Matt. 28:1–10; Mark 16:1–8; Luke 24:1–11; John 20:1–18). They also report the appearances of the Risen Lord (Matt. 28:11–20; Mark 16:9–20; Luke 24:13–53; John 21:1–25). Paul's account of the resurrection in I Corinthians 15:3–8 is the earliest, written twenty years before the Gospel stories of the empty tomb, and describes a revelation of the Risen Christ. Moreover, in giving his report, Paul makes it clear that he is not presenting any theory of his own, but is transmitting the accepted tradition of the church:

> For I delivered to you as of first importance what I also received, that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures, and that he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve. Then he appeared to more than five hundred brethren at one time, most of whom are still alive, although some have fallen asleep. Then he appeared to James, then to all the apostles. Last of all, as to one untimely born, he appeared also to me . . . (I Cor. 15:3–8).

From Paul's account it is clear that the faith of the primitive Christian church in the resurrection was based upon the appearances of Jesus rather than upon the story of the empty tomb.[2] The central fact is that the disciples were convinced beyond the shadow of a doubt that Jesus was not dead, but had risen, and that the cause for which he stood had not been lost but was on the verge of triumph. Something of the certainty which accompanied this faith of the disciples may be suggested by reporting the experience of a modern disciple, Martin Niemoeller, who suffered eight years of imprisonment under Hitler. Before many hundreds assembled in Trinity Church, Boston, sometime after the end of World War II, Niemoeller testified to the faith which had

[2] Goguel, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

sustained him in prison by reading from II Timothy 2:8–9 the following words:

> Remember Jesus Christ, risen from the dead, descended from David, as preached in my gospel, the gospel for which I am suffering and wearing fetters, like a criminal. *But the word of God is not fettered.* Therefore I endure everything for the sake of the elect, that they also may obtain the salvation which in Christ Jesus goes with eternal glory (italics added).

THE JERUSALEM CHURCH. According to the Book of Acts, the birthday of the Christian church took place on the Day of Pentecost about seven weeks (literally, the fiftieth day) after the Passover following Jesus' death. The day was marked by the gift of the Holy Spirit, regarded as the fulfilment of Joel's prophecy that there would be an outpouring of the Spirit when the New Age was at hand. The "speaking in tongues," described in Acts as one of the gifts of the Spirit and frequently mentioned in Paul's letters and elsewhere in the New Testament, refers to the uncontrolled speech (glossolalia) occasionally still observed in emotional religious revivals. A similar reference to ecstatic speech is found in Acts 4:31 and again indicates the high pitch of emotional intensity of the disciples in this period. The guiding genius of this early period of the Jerusalem Christian group was Peter, and the remarks attributed to him in Acts 2:14–40 indicate the purely religious nature of this community. It did not arise as a proletarian movement of social protest.[3] The nucleus of the Jerusalem Christian group was composed of disciples of Jesus, most of them from Galilee, who had been drawn to Jerusalem by news of the resurrection, men and women who were convinced that Jesus was the Messiah and who lived in daily expectation of the coming of the Kingdom of God.

The early chapters of Acts contain three lifelike vignettes of this religious community (2:42–47; 4:34–35; and 5:12–16). Acts 2:42 uses a word which strikes the keynote of the community life, *koinonia,* or fellowship: "And they devoted

[3] See Ernst Troeltsch, *Social Teachings of the Christian Church,* I, 39, and Karl Kautsky, *Foundations of Christianity,* p. 272.

themselves to the apostles' teaching and *fellowship,* to the breaking of bread and the prayers." Fellowship was both material and spiritual. The disciples continued to practise the "breaking of bread" in the manner which Jesus had taught them. This religious rite was at first combined with the common meal of the community, although later separated. A second sacrament, even more important, was baptism. Worship was the central feature of the common life and was practised in two places, in the Temple and in the homes in which the disciples congregated. In the Book of Malachi (3:1), it had been stated that "the Lord whom you seek will suddenly come to his temple." Hence the followers of Jesus were to be found frequently in the courts of the Temple (Acts 2:46; 4:1) and especially in Solomon's portico, a colonnade or cloister outside the Temple on the east side which seems to have been a regular place of meeting for the Christians (3:11; 5:12). There was also a voluntary sharing of material possessions (2:44; 4:32). Goguel makes the interesting suggestion that this common fund may have originated in the sale by disciples of what they had owned in Galilee.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY AND THE ESSENES. Considerable light is thrown upon the life of the early Christian church by the recent discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the detailed information they provide concerning the religious environment in which Christianity arose. Christians and Essenes shared a common terminology, basic theological ideas, and religious practices. The very name the two communities applied to themselves was the same: *'edah* (congregation or church). Essenes and Christians shared similar eschatological ideas and expectantly awaited the coming of the New Age. Essenes awaited the coming not of one Messiah but two, a Davidic Messiah and a priestly Messiah. Both groups thought of themselves as communities of the New Covenant. The Essenes had a Teacher of Righteousness, who like Jesus met a martyr's death. The similarities in organization are equally striking.[4] The Essenes had a ruling assembly called

[4] See Appendix A.

the Rabbim (Many), comparable to the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15:22; 6:2; 15:30). Within the "Many" of the Essenes there was a ruling body consisting of twelve laymen and three priests—a partial parallel to the circle of twelve disciples among the following of Jesus. Moreover, at the highest level of authority among the Essenes there was an "overseer," the equivalent of the bishop (*episkopos*) of the New Testament. Finally, the Essenes like the Christians had two basic sacraments, those of baptism and the communion meal, although the Essenes placed a strong emphasis upon order of rank at the communion meal, while this was rejected in the Gospels.

Extravagant conclusions have been drawn by some scholars from a study of these parallels. For example, it has been stated that the scrolls come from the very community in which "John the Baptist taught and Jesus learned,"[5] and some have even identified the early Christians with the Essenes.[6] However, such claims ignore the fact that there are differences as well as similarities between the Essene movement and early Christianity.[7] While no final judgment is possible, what can be said without any question is that both movements, the Christian and the Essene, evolved in the same religious environment, used the same language, and shared many basic convictions. But this is not to say they were one. Indeed, we are now more than ever aware of the rich variety which existed within Judaism of the century before and the century after the beginning of our era.

The New Testament writers draw on common resources of language, theological themes, and concepts; they share common religious institutions. They breathe the same atmosphere, confront the same problems. We can now enter into this rich variegated world of sectarian Judaism in the first century A.D. with new boldness and

[5] Quoted with disapproval by Theodor H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1956), p. 1.

[6] A. Powell Davies, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 109.

[7] For a balanced statement of the relationship between the two groups, see Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: The Viking Press, 1955), chap. xv.

understanding. The strange world of the New Testament becomes less baffling, less exotic.[8]

BEGINNINGS OF OPPOSITION. In spite of the description of the early Christian community as "having favor with all the people" (Acts 2:47; see also 5:13), there seem to have been occasional periods of opposition almost from the beginning. The arrest of Peter and John for creating a disturbance in the Temple (Acts 3:1 ff.) is an example of this, as are Paul's statements about the suffering and persecution of the Judean churches in I Thessalonians 2:14 and Galatians 1:23. Nevertheless, the Christian Jews—a more accurate designation for this period than Jewish Christians—do seem to have been regarded with a considerable degree of toleration by other Jews.

There were good reasons for Jewish toleration and even qualified approval of Christian Jews. The Christian Jews were regarded as a sect within Judaism, rather than members of a rival faith, for they observed the Law strictly and displayed unusual devotion to the Temple—the outward marks of religious loyalty from the standpoint of Judaism. Furthermore, their zeal for the coming of a future Messiah could not but win the approval of other religious-minded Jews, although their claim that they already knew who the Messiah was must have taxed the forbearance of non-Christian Jews. Then, too, Christian Jews were to be found in many quarters of Judaism. Even "a great many of priests," according to Acts 6:7, were faithful members of the Christian group, and Acts 15:5 similarly refers to "believers who belonged to the party of the Pharisees."

The first serious trouble is described in Acts 6, and was caused by the presence within the Jerusalem Christian community of "Hellenists," Greek-speaking Jews who had come or whose ancestors had come originally from the world of the Jewish Dispersion, like the Dispersion Jews referred to as living in Jerusalem in Acts 2:5 ff. The crisis was both internal and external. The explanation given in Acts 6:1—that the

[8] Frank M. Cross, Jr., "The Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Interpreter's Bible*, Vol. XII (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1957), p. 35.

Hellenists believed that the widows among their number were being slighted in the daily distribution of goods—is obviously a symptom rather than the basic cause of division. The immediate situation was relieved by the appointment of "seven men of good repute, full of the Spirit and of wisdom" (Acts 6:3), and all of them Hellenists, judging by their names, to take care of the distribution of alms so that the twelve might give their undivided attention to the spiritual direction of the Christian community.

This could have been only a temporary solution, however, even of the internal problem. The rift between the Greek-speaking and the Aramic-speaking Christians went much deeper, and led not only to an internal but also to an external crisis. The key verse in the controversy precipitated by Stephen is not Acts 6:13, with its reference to Temple and Torah. Hellenistic and Jewish Christians as well as non-Christian Jews all reverenced both of these great institutions. The key to the situation is to be found rather in Acts 7:51–53 where Stephen infers that the Old Covenant has been superseded by the New, Judaism by Christianity.

Stephen's significance is that his preaching in the Hellenistic synagogues made it evident that Christianity was something more than just a new Jewish sect, and that its spread would involve danger to the law of Moses. He drove in the first wedge between Judaism and Christianity and made possible the emergence of a distinctively Christian church.[9]

In the light of this background it is easy to understand how, as a result of Stephen's activity and that of other Hellenists, serious hostility broke out against the church in Jerusalem. The persecution seems, however, to have been directed against the Hellenists only. Acts 8:1 reads, "they were all scattered . . . except the apostles," and the exception must have included the Aramaic-speaking followers of the apostles, since succeeding chapters of the Book of Acts obviously assume the existence of a vigorous Jerusalem church

[9] G. H. C. Macgregor, in *The Interpreter's Bible,* Vol. IX (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1954), p. 92.

exercising primary authority over other churches as they arose in this early period of the history of Christianity. Stephen became the first martyr of the Christian church, but as Harnack remarks, "when Stephen was stoned, he died, like Hus, for a cause whose issues he did not foresee."[10] One immediate and important result was the rapid expansion of the Christian movement throughout Judea and Samaria (Acts 8:1) and as far as Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch (11:19).

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF JEWISH CHRISTIANITY. The next crisis of the Jerusalem Church is described in Acts 12:1 ff. where we learn that "Herod, the king" killed James, the brother of John, and imprisoned Peter. The king referred to was Herod Agrippa I (A.D. 41–44), grandson of Herod the Great, to whom the Romans had given a kingdom uniting west and east Palestine and the southern part of Syria, a kingdom including all that Herod the Great had ever ruled, except Iturea. Herod Agrippa ordered the slaying of James, the son of Zebedee (and probably John also) to please his Jewish subjects, according to Acts. James was thus the first of the apostles to be martyred. Since Herod Agrippa I himself died shortly thereafter, it is possible to date this crisis of the Jerusalem church in A.D. 44.

What happened to Peter remains a mystery.[11] The writer of Acts describes Peter's escape from prison in miraculous fashion, has him appear dramatically at the house of Mary, mother of John Mark, where he is mistaken by a maid named Rhoda for his own (guardian) angel, and then reports his deliverance to the amazed prayer group assembled within the house. The narrative ends with the words, "And he said, 'Tell this to James and to the brethren.' Then he departed and went to another place" (Acts 12:17). Where Peter went

[10] Adolf Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), I, 57.

[11] Some Protestant scholars claim that Peter also died as a martyr in Jerusalem in A.D. 44. See Donald F. Robinson, "Where and When Did Peter Die?", *Journal of Biblical Literature,* LXIV (1945), 255 ff.; Guy M. Davis, Jr., "Was Peter Buried in Rome?", *Journal of Bible and Religion,* Vol. XX, No. 3 (July, 1952), pp. 167 ff.; and Charles F. Nesbitt, "What *Did* Become of Peter?", *Journal of Bible and Religion,* Vol. XXVII, No. 1 (Jan., 1959), pp. 10–16.

upon his departure from Jerusalem is unclear. Goguel believes that his departure was final and that after his visit to Antioch, Peter spent the latter parts of his life in Greek Christian churches.[12]

What is clear in Acts 12:7 is the ascendancy of James, Jesus' brother, to a place of leadership in the Jerusalem Church. It has been conjectured that this rise of James to the place of chief authority had begun as early as the driving out of the Hellenists and the strengthening of the Jewish branch of the church. At any rate, after A.D. 44, James was the unquestioned leader among Jerusalem Christians, a post he retained until his own martyr death in A.D. 62.

James' influence was strongly on the side of Jewish Christianity. Under his leadership Christians continued to worship in the Temple and to observe the Torah. The fact that, according to Acts 15:5, some Christians belonged to the party of the Pharisees indicates that James and his followers were above reproach from the point of view of Judaism, so far as their ritual observance was concerned. Further evidence of this is provided even by the incident of James' death. The stoning of James initiated by the high priest Ananus, perhaps out of jealousy for James' influence with the Jewish people, was not an act that found favor among the Jews; indeed, the Jews lodged a complaint with the king, Agrippa II, which resulted in the deposition of Ananus from office at the end of three months.[13]

Because of his unchallenged authority as leader of the Jerusalem church for a period of about twenty years, James has been called the first bishop in Christian history. He deserves recognition both for his leadership and his personal character, being known among the Jews as "James, the Just." However, as Scott says, "under the auspices of James it (Christianity) was committed to a type of religion which could not possibly be accepted by the world at large. Refusing to advance, it became more and more reactionary, and

[12] *Birth of Christianity*, p. 110, n. 3. This assumes a date during the years A.D. 43–44 for the conference in Jerusalem reported in Acts 15 and Gal. 2.

[13] See Appendix B.

was finally disowned by the great movement which it ought to have led."[14]

PAUL AND GENTILE CHRISTIANITY. Paul is the best known and most influential missionary to the Gentiles, but he makes no claim to have been the first. According to the Book of Acts, the death of Stephen and the scattering of his followers led to the propagation of the message about Jesus in the West. Stephen had not preached a Gentile mission, but as Harnack puts it, "by his words and death he helped to set it up."[15] The followers of Stephen, driven out of Jerusalem, scattered throughout Judea and Samaria and to even more remote places.

One of those who fled from Jerusalem and went about "preaching the word" was Philip, who had been one of the seven guardians of the poor. He is given credit for evangelizing Samaria, especially in the region of the Plain of Sharon, and the coastal towns ranging from Azotus to Caesarea where he was found in residence when Paul visited Caesarea on his last journey to Jerusalem (Acts 21:8). Philip is reported in Acts 8:26–39 to have converted an Ethiopian eunuch. Was the Ethiopian eunuch a Jew or a Gentile? Eusebius, the early church historian (*c.* A.D. 263—*c.* 340), considered him the first Gentile convert. However, the fact that he had been on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and was reading the Book of Isaiah would make it appear that he was a Jewish proselyte. The story of the eunuch testifies merely to the expanding influence of the early Christian movement. For the author of Acts, it is clear, Cornelius, under the influence of Peter, became the first Gentile convert (Acts 10:1–48, esp. verse 45). However, it is also clear from what follows in Acts that the Jerusalem church had no intention to inaugurate a Gentile mission.

It was in Antioch, where the followers of Jesus were first called "Christians" (Acts 11:26), that the mission to the Gentiles began. The Gentile character of the church in

[14] *The Interpreter's Bible,* Vol. VII (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1951), p. 184.

[15] Adolf Harnack, *op. cit.,* I, 57.

Antioch is attested by the fact that, as Harnack points out, "the name of Christian was the title of Gentile Christians; neither at first nor for a long while to come, were Jewish Christians designated by this name."[16]

Barnabas came to Antioch and soon after, we are told, went to Tarsus "to look for Saul, and when he had found him, he brought him to Antioch" (Acts 11:25–26). (Barnabas brought Paul (Saul) to Antioch because he knew that he was a Jew of the Greek dispersion, well-acquainted with the religious needs and attitudes of Gentiles like those of Antioch who had begun to display an interest in the Christian way.) It was Paul's great achievement that he was able to interpret Christianity to the Gentile world. He did more than anyone else to transform the following of Jesus from a Galilean sect to a world religion.

Harnack lists fifty places where Christian communities or Christians can be traced as early as the first century A.D. Of these fifty places more than twenty are connected with Paul in some way, places where Paul had himself founded Christian churches, or in which he had labored, or, in one or two cases, communities to which he had penned influential letters. They are for the most part urban centers of the Roman world: Tarsus, Syria (several churches are mentioned in Acts 15), Cilicia, Salamis in Cyprus, Paphos in Cyprus, Perga in Pamphylia, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, Ephesus, Colossae, Laodicea, Troas, Philippi in Macedonia, Thessalonica, Berea in Macedonia, Athens, Corinth, Cenchreae (near Corinth), and Rome. Thus it was Paul who was chiefly responsible for transplanting Christianity from Jewish Palestine into the great cities of the Roman Empire and making it at home there.

(Paul was well-qualified to interpret Christianity to the Gentile world. He was himself of Jewish birth, "of the people of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew born of Hebrews" (Phil. 3:5). He was proud of the contribution that Judaism had to offer the world of his day, its high concept of God and ~~exalted~~ ethical teaching,) best summarized in the

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

often quoted words of Micah 6:8: "He has showed you, O man, what is good; and what does the Lord require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?" But he was also a Hellenistic Jew, born in Tarsus of Cilicia, in Paul's day a great commercial and cultural center of the Mediterranean world. He could not but be aware of the different elements of Graeco-Roman culture, of the famous contributions made by the Greeks in art, literature, and philosophy, and of their love of the true, the good, and the beautiful. He was aware, too, of the contribution of Rome, especially the Roman genius for administration and the preservation of law and order.

But in the area of religion, the national religions of Greece and Rome no longer commanded the imaginations of men. Internationalism had become as much a reality in the religious as in the political sphere. There was widespread interest in such Oriental mystery cults as the worship of Isis and Osiris, which had originated in Egypt, the worship of the Persian Mithras made popular in the Mediterranean world by returning Roman soldiers, and the Eleusinian mystery originating in Greece.

Various factors account for the response to these religions. For one thing they were oriented to the needs of an age that had seen the breakdown of national boundaries and the rise of an international order. Then, too, in a period of much uncertainty and human misery, these mythological religions brought to hard-pressed men and women a promise of salvation, of hope for the future if not for the present. They offered a concrete response to the longing for immortality by granting the initiate identification with a god who had risen triumphantly from death. Yet these mystery cults displayed many weaknesses. They placed too much emphasis upon the emotional side and not enough on the ethical. Their beliefs were loaded with primitive superstition and their practices bordered upon the magical. They were deficient intellectually. Aristotle had said of them that "it is not necessary that the initiates learn anything, but that they

should receive impressions and be brought into a suitable frame of mind."

Into such a world constituted of Jewish, Greek, Roman, and Oriental elements, Paul was born. It was a world ~~in search of~~ searching for a satisfying faith. Judaism and its lofty ~~ethical~~ monotheism had found many admirers, particularly among the educated classes of the Graeco-Roman world. Yet the ethical and religious heritage of the Jews was hedged in by the requirement of Law observance, ~~understood and~~ accepted by Jews but a ~~formidable~~ barrier to non-Jews. Paul, the Hellenistic Jew, saw in the faith centered in Jesus the answer to the needs of this Greek-Roman-Oriental world. His vision is best conveyed in the language of Ephesians 2:14 ff.[17]

> For he is our peace, who has made us both one, and has broken down the dividing wall of hostility, by abolishing in his flesh the law of commandments and ordinances, that he might create in himself one new man in place of the two, so making peace, and might reconcile us both to God in one body through the cross, thereby bring the hostility to an end.

Christianity offered to the Graeco-Roman world the highest ethical and religious teachings of Jewish tradition, without the barrier of the Law. It presented its answer to the needs of the first century Roman world in terms of loyalty to an ~~charismatic~~, historical figure, ~~the founder of the Christian~~ faith.

Lietzmann remarks that "Paul gave the religion of Jesus the form in which it was capable of conquering the world, without receiving damage to its own soul.[18] This may be illustrated from Paul's use of religious terminology. Paul uses words and thought ~~patterns~~ which are ~~readily~~ understandable to persons of Gentile background, yet ~~which are~~ faithful to the meaning of the founder of Christianity and the developing tradition. Terms such as "Son of Man" and

[17] The doubts entertained by some scholars concerning Pauline authorship of the Letter to the Ephesians does not affect the validity of this statement. This was Paul's vision of the role of Christianity.

[18] Hans Lietzmann, *The Beginnings of the Christian Church* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), p. 112.

"Kingdom of God," familiarly used in the Gospels but not meaningful to the Gentile world, give way to "Son of God" and "Church." The word "mystery" was a key word of the religious brotherhoods in the Roman world of Paul's day in which initiation rites were given great importance. The very word comes from the stem of the verb "to initiate." Paul made frequent use of the word "mystery" (Rom. 11:25; I Cor. 2:7; 4:1; 13:2; 15:51; Col. 1:26), but used it to mean "the exact knowledge of some decree of God hidden from men generally."[19] Another example of Paul's use of language understandable to the Greek mind is found in the title of "Lord," applied to Jesus (e.g., II Cor. 4:5; II Cor. 12:80). Three times in Paul's letters a special formula is used which appears to be the confession made by a convert at the time of baptism: "Jesus is Lord." Scholars debate whether the terminology used here comes from the Hellenistic or the Palestinian background of early Christianity. Palestinian Christians had a similar usage found in the Aramaic prayer: *Maranatha,* "Our Lord, come." Whether Hellenistic or Palestinian in origin, it is clear that the title Lord applied to Jesus would be easily comprehended by Greek converts to Christianity.

Varieties of Gentile Christianity. While the future lay with Gentile Christianity, it would have been difficult in this period to predict the survival of Christianity at all as a single, unified movement. By the second half of the first century, as Goguel puts it, the unity of Christians had become an ideal to be attained in marked contrast to the prevailing reality.[20] Christianity, with the exception of a dwindling Palestinian sect or sects, had moved out from its original Jewish environment into a Gentile world of competing syncretistic cults willing and eager to absorb Christianity. Judaism of the Dispersion had had difficulty enough in maintaining its own essential character, even though it had had the advantage of possessing the Torah to give it a fixed standard. But Gentile Christianity had rejected the Law and

[19] Lietzmann, quoted by John Knox, in *The Interpreter's Bible,* IX, p. 574.
[20] *Birth of Christianity,* p. 393.

had as yet developed no generally accepted standards by which to distinguish true from false. The resulting confusion is vividly reflected in many of the later New Testament books which refer to false teachers and their teachings, apostates, heresies and heretics, false prophets, different doctrines, myths and endless genealogies, men who oppose the truth, empty talkers and deceivers, and the like. There were, of course, valid differences such as those which resulted from varieties of regional background and temperamental outlook. E. F. Scott enumerates among the varieties of early Christian practice Christian moralists, illustrated in the Book of James and the Pastoral Epistles; Alexandrian Christians like Apollos, who delighted in allegorical interpretation; apocalyptic Christianity, which was very widespread; the mystical element brought into Christianity from the Hellenistic world; the western (Latin) viewpoint reflected in the Epistle to the Hebrews; and Johannine Christianity.[21] In view of these many competing forces in late first-century Christianity, it is a wonder that Christianity survived and maintained its identity? One of the basic reasons that it did preserve its identity was its loyalty to the person of Jesus. Indeed, the very freedom and variety with which this allegiance to Jesus was expressed is evidence of vitality and resilience and capacity for growth.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

Rules of the Essene Order[22]

[The "Rules of the Order," quoted here, are taken from Section III of the Manual of Discipline as translated and arranged in *The*

[21] E. F. Scott *The Varieties of New Testament Religion* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943).

[22] Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: The Viking Press, 1956), pp. 376–382.

Dead Sea Scrolls by Millar Burrows. The Manual of Discipline (or Book of the Order) was one of the original seven scrolls found in 1947 in what is now called Cave I about one and a half miles away from the ruins of the ancient Qumran monastery, overlooking the Dead Sea.]

And this is the order for the men of the community who have offered themselves to turn from all evil and to lay hold of all that he (God) commanded according to his will, to be separated from the congregation of the men of error, to become a community in law and in wealth, answering when asked by the sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant, and when asked by the majority of the men of the community, who lay hold of the covenant. At their direction the regulation of the lot shall be decided for every case regarding law, wealth, or justice and loyal love, and to walk humbly in all their ways, that each may not walk in the rebelliousness of his heart or go astray after his heart and his eyes and the thought of his guilty impulse; to circumcise in unity the uncircumcision of impulse and the stiff neck, to lay a foundation of truth for Israel for the community of an eternal covenant, to atone for all who offer themselves for holiness in Aaron and for a house of truth in Israel, and those who joined with them for community and for controversy and for judgment, to condemn all who transgress the statute.

And as for these, this is the regulation of their ways concerning all these ordinances. When they are gathered together, every one who comes into the council of the community shall enter into the covenant of God in the sight of all who have offered themselves; and he shall take it upon himself by a binding oath to turn to the law of Moses, according to all that he commanded, with all his heart and with all his soul, to all that is revealed of it to the sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant and who seek his will, and to the majority of the men of their covenant, who have offered themselves together to his truth and to walking in his good will; and that he will take it upon himself in the covenant to be separated from all the men of error who walk in the way of wickedness. . . .

When he enters the covenant to do according to all these statutes, to be united for a holy congregation, they shall investigate his spirit in the community, between a man and his neighbor, according to his understanding and his works in the law, as directed by the sons of Aaron, who have offered themselves in unity to establish his covenant and to have charge of all his statutes which he commanded men to do, and as directed by the majority of Israel, who have offered themselves to turn in unity to his covenant. They shall be registered in order, each before his neighbor, according to his understanding and his works, so that every one of them shall obey his neighbor, the lesser obeying the greater; and so that they shall have an investigation

of their spirits and their works year by year, so as to elevate each one according to his understanding and the perfection of his way or put him back according to his perversions, so that each one may reprove his neighbor in truth and humility and loyal love for each one. . . .

In every place where there are ten men of the council of the community there shall not be absent from them a priest. Each according to his position, they shall sit before him; and thus they shall be asked for their counsel regarding everything. And when they set the table to eat, or the wine to drink, the priest shall stretch out his hand first to pronounce a blessing with the first portion of the bread and the wine. And from the place where the ten are there shall never be absent a man who searches the law day and night, by turns, one after another. And the masters shall keep watch together a third of all the nights of the year, reading the book and searching for justice, and worshiping together.

This is the order for the session of the masters, each in his position. The priests be seated first and the elders second; then all the rest of the people shall be seated, each in his position. And thus they shall be asked concerning justice and every council and matter which comes to the masters, so that each may render his opinion to the council of the community. A man shall not speak in the midst of his neighbor's words, before his brother finishes speaking. And further he shall not speak before his position which is written before him. The man who is asked shall speak in his turn; and in the session of the masters a man shall not speak a word which is not to the liking of the masters. And when the man who is the superintendent over the masters—or any man who has a word to speak to the masters but who is not in the position of the one asking the community's counsel—the man shall stand on his feet and say, "I have a word to speak to the masters." If they tell him, he shall speak. . . .

There shall be in the council of the community twelve men, and there shall be three priests who are perfect in all that has been revealed of the whole law, to practice truth and righteousness and justice and loyal love and walking humbly each with his neighbor, to preserve faithfulness in the land with sustained purpose and a broken spirit, and to make amends for iniquity by the practice of justice and the distress of tribulation, and to walk with all by the standard of truth and by the regulation of the time.

When these things come to pass in Israel, the council of the community will be established in the truth for an eternal planting, a holy house for Israel, a foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron, true witnesses for justice and the elect by God's will, to make atonement for the land and to render to the wicked their recompense—this is the tested wall, a precious cornerstone; its foundations will not tremble

or flee from their place—a most holy dwelling for Aaron with eternal knowledge for a covenant of justice and to offer a pleasing fragrance, and a house of perfection and truth in Israel to establish a covenant for eternal statutes. And they shall be accepted to make atonement for the land and to decide the judgment of wickedness, and there shall be no error. When these men have been prepared in the foundation of the community for two years with blameless conduct, they shall be separated in holiness in the midst of the council of the men of the community; and when anything which has been hidden from Israel is found by the man who is searching, it shall not be hidden from these men out of fear of an apostate spirit. . . .

Appendix B

The Stoning of James, the Brother of Jesus[23]

And now Caesar, upon hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus into Judea, as procurator. But the king deprived Joseph of the high priesthood, and bestowed the succession to that dignity on the son of Ananus, who was also himself called Ananus. Now the report goes, that this elder Ananus proved a most fortunate man; for he had five sons, who had all performed the office of a high priest to God, and he had himself enjoyed that dignity a long time formerly, which had never happened to any other of our high priests. But this younger Ananus, who, as we have told you already, took the high priesthood, was a bold man in his temper, and very insolent; he was also of the sect of the Sadducees, who are very rigid in judging offenders above all the rest of the Jews, as we have already observed: when, therefore, Ananus was of this disposition, he thought he had now a proper opportunity (to exercise his authority). Festus was now dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; so he assembled the Sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others, (or, some of his companions). And when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned; but as for those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and such as were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done; they also sent to the king (Agrippa) desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done was not to be justified: nay, some of them went also to meet Albinus, as he was upon his journey from Alexandria, and informed him that it was not lawful for Ananus to assemble a Sanhedrim without his consent. Whereupon Albinus complied with what they said, and wrote in anger to Ananus, and threatened that he

[23] Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XIX, ix, 1.

would bring him to punishment for what he had done; on which king Agrippa took the high priesthood from him, when he had ruled but three months, and made Jesus the son of Damneus high priest.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. On what historical fact is the Christian religion based?
2. What was the significance of the Day of Pentecost in the history of the early church?
3. What are some similarities between Christianity as described in the early chapters of Acts and the Order of the Essenes as described in the Qumran Manual of Discipline and other Dead Sea scrolls?
4. What was the early attitude of the Jewish community toward the Christian Jews of Jerusalem?
5. Why was Stephen martyred?
6. What happened to Peter?
7. In what direction did James lead the Jerusalem church?
8. Why is Paul the most important missionary to the Gentiles?
9. Account for the decline of Jewish Christianity in Palestine.
10. Illustrate the confusing variety of Christianity in the second half of the first century and later. In what way was this a disadvantage? In what way an advantage?

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

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GOGUEL, MAURICE. *The Birth of Christianity.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1954. See especially chap. i, "The Birth of the Belief in the Resurrection of Jesus," and chap. ii, "The Birth of the Faith in the Resurrection."

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Chapter 12

THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES A.D.

EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY. Christianity at the end of the first century was largely an eastern Mediterranean faith. Paul himself had carried the Christian message "from Jerusalem and as far round as Illyricum" (Rom. 15:19), i.e., to many parts of the eastern Mediterranean. In addition we know that Christianity had been successfully planted in at least two regions by others than Paul. One of them was northern Asia Minor, as indicated by I Peter 1:1. The other was in and near Puteoli in Italy—and perhaps also in nearby Pompeii—since Paul states that he found "brethren" in Puteoli. In addition, the Christian community in Rome must have been of good size, because Tacitus informs us that "a great multitude" (*multitudo ingens*) perished in Rome under Nero.[1] Elsewhere in the West Christians were few and far between.

Christianity continued to flourish in the eastern part of the Roman world. Letters written about A.D. 110–113 by Pliny the Younger, then governor of Bithynia in Asia Minor, to the emperor Trajan indicate that Christians in that region were numerous enough to create a serious problem to Roman administration. During the second century Christianity continued to expand eastward, with its most important center in the Mesopotamian Kingdom of Edessa, whose rulers had been Christianized before their country was absorbed into the Roman Empire in A.D. 216.

North Africa became increasingly important as a center of Christianity by the second century A.D. Early in its history Christianity had found numerous adherents in Egypt and Cyrene (North Africa). Tertullian (*c.* A.D. 150–*c.* 230) no doubt exaggerated when he said that Christians were "almost

[1] *Annals,* XV, 44.

a majority in every city"; perhaps it would have been more accurate to estimate the proportion of Christians as one in ten in a city such as Carthage. Turning to the West we know that the number of Roman priests totalled 145 and that relief was being extended to fifteen hundred of the poor by A.D. 251. According to Eusebius, a council held in Rome during that same year was attended by sixty bishops in addition to presbyters and deacons.[2] By the time of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 160–180), there were enough Christians in Gaul to bring down persecutions upon themselves.

LOCAL PERSECUTIONS. Official persecution of Christians was at first local and occasional. Not until the middle of the third century was a general persecution authorized for the first time. As a matter of fact, it was only gradually that the Romans discovered the separateness of Christians from Jews, and for a time Christians enjoyed the special privileges granted Jews since the time of Alexander the Great.[3] Christianity's final split with Judaism resulted from a variety of factors, among them the growing friction between Christians and Jews, as in Corinth before Gallio (Acts 18:12), the success of the Christian mission to Gentiles (Rom. 11:11), the distinctive name first applied to followers of Jesus in Antioch (Acts 11:26). Refusal of Christians to support the Jewish war against Rome in A.D. 66–70 further clarified the situation in Roman eyes.

The first local persecution of Christians by the Roman government took place about A.D. 64, when they were charged with the burning of Rome, although the Roman historian Tacitus reports a rumor that the fire had been ordered by the emperor Nero.[4] During the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81–96), confiscation of property and banishment of Christians took place from time to time. By this time, at least, the Roman government was fully aware of the existence of Christianity as an obstinate and annoying religious minority group. However, during the first century and a half of Christianity

[2] *The Church History of Eusebius,* VI, xiii; II, 2.

[3] Emil Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891), II, 270 ff.

[4] The passage from Tacitus has been quoted in chap. 19, p. 186.

there was no official policy of general persecution. Government action was based upon the policy of "rescripts." Christianity was considered a crime, but its adherents were not hunted down and cases were considered on an individual basis. Action was not to be taken against Christians until a report to the emperor had been made and his reply (rescript) had been received in connection with each particular situation. Thus Pliny the Younger, writing to the Emperor Trajan about his difficulties with Christians in Bithynia around A.D. 112 began a letter seeking instructions by saying, "It is my rule, Sire, to refer to you in matters where I am uncertain"; and Trajan in reply praised Pliny and went on to state his opinion: "You have taken the right line, my dear Pliny, in examining the cases of those denounced to you as Christians, for no hard and fast rule can be laid down, of universal application."[5]

PUBLIC OPPOSITION. In comparison with the later period of general persecutions, the policy of the Roman government at this time must be considered tolerant. Yet there was much hostility toward Christians from the general public. Christians were *in* society but not *of* it. They were different, always a cause of suspicion, and their numbers were growing. Christians were branded as atheists and traitors, because they refused to attend pagan religious festivals or even public amusements and other gatherings which invariably involved at least token recognition of the state religion.

One of the most effective attacks on Christianity came from the second century Roman philosopher Celsus, whose writings have been lost with the exception of *The True Word* (*c.* A.D. 170), which has been partially preserved in the form of extensive quotations in Origen's reply, *Against Celsus.* Celsus depicted Jesus as a magician who had proclaimed himself a god on the basis of certain miraculous powers gained in Egypt. The resurrection of Jesus, Celsus said, was based upon the witness of a deluded woman and

[5] Quoted from Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church* (New York and London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1947), p. 5. See Appendix A for a more extensive portion of letter.

does not deserve to be taken seriously. He ridiculed Christian expectations of a catastrophic end of the age and the belief that they would then be vindicated against their oppressors, while the rest of mankind was to be consumed in the flames.

It is folly for them to suppose that when God, as if he were a cook, introduces the fire, all the rest of the human race will be burnt up, while they alone will remain, not only those who are alive, but also those who have been dead long since, which latter will arise from the earth clothed with the self-same flesh as during life; the hope, to speak plainly, of worms. For what sort of human soul is it that would still long for a body gone to corruption?[6]

THE APOLOGISTS. Such literary attacks upon Christianity as that of Celsus inspired the writings of the so-called Apologists, converts from educated circles who were able to offer a rational defense of Christianity. The most important of the early Apologists was Justin Martyr, a Gentile born in Nablus, Palestine, born *c.* A.D. 100, who traveled extensively and died a martyr's death in Rome sometime between the year 163 and 167. Justin was also the author of two important Greek works: the *Apology* (together with an appendix called the *Second Apology*) and the *Dialogue with Trypho.* The *Dialogue* is a systematic attempt to prove that Jesus was the Messiah predicted in the Old Testament. The *Apology,* addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, is a partisan but well-argued defense of Christianity against charges of atheism and treason. The following passage in the *Apology* contains one of the finest ethical tributes paid to Christianity in ancient literature:

Before we became Christians we took pleasure in debauchery, now we rejoice in purity of life; we used to practise magic and sorcery, now we are dedicated to the good, unbegotten God; we used to value above all else money and possessions, now we bring together all that we have and share it with those who are in need. Formerly, we hated and killed one another and, because of a difference in nationality or custom, we refused to admit strangers within our gates. Now since the coming of Christ we all live in peace. We pray for

[6] J. C. Ayer, *A Source Book for Ancient Church History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), pp. 58–59.

our enemies and seek to win over those who hate us unjustly in order that, by living according to the noble precepts of Christ, they may partake with us in the same joyful hope of obtaining our reward from God, the Lord of all.[7]

Justin Martyr's adoption of Christianity was the end result of a philosopher's quest. As he informs the reader (in chapters 2 and 3 of the *Dialogue with Trypho*), Justin had first studied under a Stoic, but left him and went to a Peripatetic "as he fancied shrewd." After this man had entertained him for a few days he asked Justin for his fee "in order that our intercourse might not be unprofitable." This sort of man was no philosopher at all, Justin decided, and so he sought out next a Pythagorean, and then a Platonist. At last he came in contact with "a certain old man, by no means contemptible in appearance, exhibiting meek and venerable manner. He . . . engaged Justin in a discussion of philosophy and its contribution to happiness. Concluded (the old man) that the knowledge of truth is to be sought from prophets who proclaimed Christ. I found this philosophy alone to be safe and profitable." Christianity is thus for Justin Martyr the true philosophy. Christ is presented as the Word, the divine Logos, of whom he thought in Stoic fashion as always having been at work in the world instructing Greeks and barbarians in the degree and to the extent that they were willing to receive him:

We have been taught that Christ is the first-born of God, and we have declared above that He is the Word of whom every race of men were partakers; and those who lived reasonably are Christians, even though they have been thought atheists; as, among the Greeks, Socrates and Heraclitus, and men like them; and among the barbarians, Abraham . . . and many others whose actions and names we now decline to recount, because we know it would be tedious.[8]

FROM MESSIAH TO LOGOS. Justin Martyr's reference to Christ as the Word, or Logos, illustrates a significant shift which had taken place in Christian terminology in these early

[7] *Apology*, I, 14, as translated in Charles Norris Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1940), p. 221.
[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

centuries of the expansion of Christianity. Christianity had arisen as an offspring of Judaism and its earliest title for Jesus had been Messiah, a word full of meaning for Jewish Christians, but not for Gentile converts. There are other names for Jesus found in the New Testament, such as "Lord," a term which could be used either by Christians of Jewish birth or those of Gentile origin. In the prologue of the Gospel of John, the historic Jesus was for the first time identified with the Logos of Greek thought, "made incarnate."[9] Logos, or the Word, became for second and third-century Christians the key word to describe the spiritual significance of Jesus, and the discussion of the relationship of Christ as the Word to God the Father played an important part in the creed-making council meetings of the fourth and fifth centuries. In Greek philosophy Logos referred to the indwelling reason which gave order and meaning to the world, "an all-indwelling reason, Logos, of which our reason is a part. It is God, the life and wisdom of all. It is truly within us. We can 'follow the God within'; and by reason of it one can say, as Cleanthes did of Zeus: 'We too are thy offspring.' "[10]

The adoption of Logos as a key word in Christian terminology was the result of the meeting and blending of Greek and Christian thought, a process in which Alexandria in Egypt had an important part to play. Alexandria, founded in 332 B.C. by Alexander the Great, had by the time of which we are speaking surpassed Athens as a cultural center and was second in importance only to Rome. Here Philo the Jewish philosopher (20 B.C.–A.D. 50) had attempted his great synthesis of Jewish faith and Greek philosophy. Philo had taken the Greek Logos and used it as a way of relating God to the imperfect world, which made it possible for the author of the Gospel of John, only a half-century later, to go a step further and say that the Logos, God's intermediary to the world, had been made manifest in human flesh, in Jesus of Nazareth. By A.D. 185 there existed in Alexandria a catecheti-

[9] John 1:1, 14.

[10] Williston Walker, *History of the Christian Church* (rev. ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), p. 7.

cal school which became a famous center of Christian learning; at that time the head was Pantaenus, a converted Stoic philosopher, who may or may not have been the founder. Clement of Alexandria (*c.* A.D. 150–*c.* 213), who succeeded Pantaenus as leader of the catechetical school, contributed to the further development of the Logos doctrine in Christian thought. To Clement as to Justin Martyr, the Logos had always been the source of human wisdom and the great teacher of mankind, which explains the choice of title for one of Clement's writings, *The Instructor* (*Paedagogus*). While Clement affirmed the incarnation, it is clear that his real interest was not in the earthly life of Jesus, but in the idea of Jesus as a revelation of God. The Logos, or Word, for Clement and Christian theologians like him, becomes actually an aspect of God. It will be better in future, therefore, to speak of Christ rather than Jesus in describing the process of thought which culminated, at Chalcedon in the fifth century, in the doctrine of God in Three Persons, or the Trinity. It is plain that for Clement the Logos is God revealing himself to men—"With the greatest clearness, accordingly, the Word has spoken respecting Himself by Hosea: 'I am your Instructor.' "[11] Origen, Clement's pupil and successor, carried this process of thought a step further by inquiring about the relationship of the divine Logos or Son to God the Father. According to Origen, the Word is subordinate to God the Father but co-equal in time. God has always been a Father and has always generated the Word.[12] God the Father and the Son are both divine beings, but contained within a higher unity. Origen's theology also provides for God's activity as Holy Spirit, thus contributing to the development of trinitarian thought.

Not all Christian thinkers were as receptive to Greek thought as the Alexandrian theologians. Church leaders of the West inclined to be suspicious of such accommodation of Christian doctrine to Greek patterns of thought. Tertullian, the most outspoken of all, declared tersely:

[11] *The Instructor*, I, vii.
[12] *De Principiis*, I, ii, 3.

> What is there in common between Athens and Jerusalem? What between the Academy and the Church? What between heretics and Christians? . . . Away with all projects for a "Stoic," a "Platonic" or a "dialectic" Christianity! After Christ Jesus we desire no subtle theories, no acute inquiries after the gospel. . . .[13]

Indeed, the differences of opinion between church leaders of East and West were to be an important factor in the great theological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries.

General Persecutions. The patriotism of Christians was frequently challenged over the first three centuries because many Christians were pacifists and many of them refused to hold public office. For a variety of reasons, then, there was a growing resentment of Christianity among the non-Christian population of the empire. This provided popular support for the policy of general persecution adopted by certain emperors of the second half of the third century and the beginning of the fourth century A.D. The basic cause of this change of policy, however, was the state of political and military insecurity which prevailed in the Roman Empire by this time.

Threatened externally by barbarian invasions, emperors were disquieted by the existence of a state within a state which Christianity had come to represent. Decius, who became emperor in A.D. 249, and his immediate successors conducted a determined campaign to restore Roman virtues, and public security, by a strengthening of the state religion. All citizens were required by law to offer sacrifices as proof of their loyalty and to carry certificates showing that they had done so. Decius himself was killed in 251 while fighting against the Goths, but the persecution he had initiated continued until the year 260–261. After his death the intensity of persecution alternately waxed and waned, but persecution had now become the fixed official policy of the government. In A.D. 257 Valerian published an imperial edict much more drastic than anything Decius had promulgated. Whereas Decius had insisted that all persons in the empire sacrifice to

[13] Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church* (New York and London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1947), p. 10.

the gods, Valerian issued a series of harsh decrees, among them one that required the leaders of the Christian Church to worship the gods of Rome or suffer exile. Another decree prohibited Christians from assembling or entering cemeteries. In 258 Valerian decreed that Christian clergy were to be put to death and that high-ranking members of the Christian Church were to be deprived of their property, and, if they remained adamant, were to be put to death. While most Christians were not in danger from these decrees, the attack threatened to deprive the Church of its leadership.

The last general persecution came under Diocletian and his successors and lasted from A.D. 303 to 311. Then came the turning point. Constantine's vision of the Cross at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge profoundly impressed him with the power of Christ. He and Licinius published in A.D. 313 an Edict of Toleration for both Christians and non-Christians. Then, from 324 to 361 Christianity was the official religion of the Empire. Under Julian (A.D. 361–363) there came a reaction and an attempt to restore paganism, but it was not successful and in 381 Emperor Theodosius closed the temples and forbade pagan sacrifices. Christianity became the imperial church.

GNOSTICISM. Now we must turn from the *external crisis,* coming from persecution, to the *internal crisis* of Christianity in these centuries, precipitated by inward division, the so-called heresies. The concept of orthodoxy can hardly be said to have existed at the beginning of the second century. And yet there was a real danger that the basic unity which did exist within early Christianity might be lost as the new religion cut its ties from its Palestinian source and exposed itself to all the competing and contradictory forms of religion and philosophy in the Mediterranean world of the day.

The first serious challenge came from Gnosticism (from *gnosis,* meaning a knowledge of mysteries revealed only to the few). Gnosticism was not a unified movement, but a confused mixture of elements of Greek and Oriental thought produced by the blending of religions, philosophies, and superstitions of the Hellenistic environment into which Christianity

had moved. Gnosticism has been characterized as "the barbarized and orientalized Platonism" which resulted from an indiscriminate conflation of elements derived from Greek idealism with the metaphysical dualism of the Orient.[14] The changing combinations of Greek and Oriental elements in Gnosticism, at one time more Greek and at another more Oriental, have been described in terms of a "syncretistic whirlpool with one eddy the orientalization of the Graeco-Roman civilization and the other the hellenization of the Orient."[15]

The variety within Gnosticism may be suggested by reference to three of the better-known leaders. Cerinthus, an Ephesian, is the earliest Gnostic teacher about whom anything definite is known. He was possibly a Jewish religious thinker, active around A.D. 100, and the letter of I John may have been written to oppose his views. Basilides was an Egyptian Gnostic teacher. He taught at Alexandria around A.D. 130 where his views attracted a wide following. The greatest of the Gnostics was Valentinus, who was born in Egypt, taught in Alexandria—and, it is said, Cyprus as well —and then went to Rome where he was active from around 135 to 165.

The world-view of the Gnostics was based upon the theory of Emanation, which, along with Creationism and Evolutionism, is one of three great systems of thought which have been devised to explain the nature of the world in which we live. According to the theory of Emanation, the universe may be compared to rays of light streaming from a center. The center is God, or the Absolute. The analogy of light radiating from a candle, the rays from which become dimmer the farther they get from the candle, suggests the diminution of energy which takes place as the emanations move farther and farther from the source. Gnosticism thus offered an inspiring view of the origin and the goal of spiritual life, although an inadequate one of the process of history.

[14] Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

[15] C. H. Moehlman, in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Vergilius Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945), p. 300.

Gnosticism gave a prominent place to the spiritual realm, but did it in such a way as to permit a compromise with polytheism. Thus Valentinus conceived of the Pleroma (literally, "filling up" in Gnosticism, the world of light, or spiritual world), the abode of God and of the divine emanations, as being occupied by thirty aeons (emanations), corresponding to the thirty supreme gods of Zoroastrianism. These aeons in turn were divided into groups of eight, ten, and twelve, reminiscent of the corresponding arrangement of gods in Egyptian religion.

Underlying the Gnostic world-view was a basic dualism of spirit and matter. Thus the high doctrine of the Pleroma was accompanied by a low view of the world of matter which had been created not by the Supreme God, but by a relatively late emanation called the Demiurge. A great gulf was fixed between the Pleroma and the material world. In this world itself there were three kinds of men, according to the Valentinian view: spiritual, material, and animal, each with its own destiny. The spiritual type will at last achieve perfection; the material man is destined for corruption; the only good the animal man can hope for is a kind of intermediate place where souls rest forever with the Demiurge. The deliverance of spiritual man had to be accomplished by a savior, who for Christian Gnostics was Christ.

The dualism of the Gnostics extended even to the person of Christ, who, they said, could not actually have been embodied in evil matter. He had only seemed to be born in the flesh. "The root of the incompatibility between Christianity and Gnosticism really lay, as second-century Fathers like Irenaeus quickly perceived, in their different attitudes to the material order and the historical process. Because of their hostility to matter and their disregard for history, the Gnostics were prevented from giving full value to the fundamental Christian doctrine of the Incarnation of the Word."[16]

The Gnosticism attacked by church leaders was Christian Gnosticism. Valentinus, for example, had at least begun as

[16] J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1958), pp. 27–28.

a Christian teacher and, it may be, never formally cut himself off from the Christian movement. Christian Gnostics genuinely believed that they were defending the spiritual values of the Christian religion. Yet more traditional Christian thinkers attacked the Gnostics sharply because they saw that the adoption of Gnostic teachings would have cut Christianity off from its historic roots. That this was the case can be observed when basic ideas of Christian Gnosticism are listed. First, the Gnostics were dualistic, drawing a sharp distinction between the world of spirit and the world of matter, which they regarded as evil. Second, they refused to attribute the origin of the material world to the Supreme God, relegating it to an inferior deity, the Demiurge. In the third place, since they had rejected the spiritual supremacy of the Creator God, the Gnostics necessarily repudiated also the authority of the Old Testament which deals with the world of creation. Finally, the Gnostics viewed Jesus as a spiritual emanation only. He could not really have lived in the evil flesh nor could he actually have suffered and died on the cross. He only seemed to do so; otherwise, he could not play his true role of spiritual mediator.

Christianity could not accept these Gnostic views and still remain faithful to its historical beginnings. This the opponents of the Gnostics saw clearly. The most influential rebuttal to the Gnostics came from Irenaeus, who was bishop of Lyons in Gaul when he wrote his famous book, *Against Heresies,* about A.D. 180. Irenaeus accused the Gnostics of undermining the faith of Christians by drawing them away

> . . . from Him who founded and adorned the universe . . . God who created the heaven and the earth, and all things that are therein . . . while they initiate them into their blasphemous and impious opinions respecting the Demiurge. . . ."[17]

There is one God only, insisted Irenaeus. Furthermore, Irenaeus affirmed a real incarnation, based upon the true humanity of Jesus. "For He did not seem one thing while He was another, as those affirm who describe Him as being man

[17] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies,* in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers,* II, 359.

only in appearance; but what He was, that He also appeared to be."

MARCIONISM. About A.D. 200 Tertullian savagely attacked Marcion as a heretic who had weakened the Christian faith in God and in the Gospels where the teaching about God is found. In fairness to Marcion it should be pointed out that there was no such thing as orthodoxy or heresy before A.D. 150 when Marcion was in his prime. The forms of Christian orthodoxy began to harden in the very half-century which separates Marcion from Tertullian. It was natural for Tertullian, looking back over this period of time, to think of Marcion as a heretic, but it is only fair to Marcion to insist that he probably never so regarded himself.

Marcion was born about A.D. 85 in Sinope, a Black Sea port on the northern shores of Asia Minor in the Roman province of Pontus. It is said that he was the son of a Christian bishop, which may well have been the case, but the charge that he was expelled from his home church for heresy may be nothing more than a reading back into his early years of the reputation he later held.[18]

The hostility toward Marcion on the part of Tertullian and others reflects more heat than light upon the actual situation. In a period when Christianity was still very fluid both in doctrine and practice, Marcion appeared on the scene as a forceful and highly influential Christian leader. Coming to Rome about A.D. 139, Marcion tried to call the Roman Church back to what he considered to be the true Gospel of Christ and of Paul, and for his pains was excommunicated in A.D. 144. Marcion founded then a separate church and compiled a canon of authoritative books which included ten letters of Paul (omitting the Pastorals) and the Gospel of Luke (omitting all passages which implied that the God of the Old Testament was the Father of Jesus).

It is not accurate to describe Marcion as a Gnostic. It was not until he came to Rome that he met Cerdo, a well-known Christian Gnostic from Syria. Marcion's views were

[18] John Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1942), p. 2.

undeniably influenced by Cerdo, but Marcion by this time was already an established teacher and his basic views well-formulated. Marcion did differ from what became orthodoxy in his denial of unity to the Godhead. There were two gods, he said, one the just God of the Old Testament, the other the good God revealed by Christ. The first of these gods could demand "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth"; the other could say "To him that smiteth thee on the one cheek offer also the other." The God of the Old Testament says, "I create evil" (Isaiah 45:7). But a good tree cannot produce evil fruit, and hence such a God cannot be a good God. Thus Marcion adopted as the truth of Jesus' teaching: "I am not come to fulfil the law, but to destroy it." Jesus, the true revealer of God, was misunderstood and crucified. Paul was the only one who understood him.

Marcion is important for two reasons. First, by selecting the Christian writings which in his opinion were to be accepted as authoritative, he set up the first canon of the New Testament. Previously, Christians had considered the Old Testament their Scriptures and had given the Gospels and other books of the New Testament only secondary status. Now other Christian leaders were forced to make up their minds about what books they considered worthy of being included in a New Testament canon. Second, Marcion compelled other Christian leaders to think through the basis of authority for Christian faith. Marcion had advanced the claims of Paul in opposition to other apostles, such as Matthew, Peter, and John. Marcion's opponents now hastened to elevate the authority of other apostles to that given Paul, and then to emphasize the harmony which they claimed existed between Paul and the other apostles.

MONTANISM. Montanism arose in the second half of the second century A.D. in Phrygia in Asia Minor. Ecstatic religion throve in Phrygia, and this has led some scholars to believe that Montanus may have been a priest of Cybele before his conversion to Christianity. At any rate, it was at Ardabau in Phrygia that Montanus proclaimed that Christ's promise of

the gift of the Comforter, or the Holy Spirit, had been fulfilled (John 14:16).[19]

Unlike Gnosticism and Marcionism, Montanism adhered unquestioningly to the Christian faith in God as One and as the Creator; in fact, Montanism received the approval of the bishop of Rome (probably Victor, A.D. 189–198). The only sympathetic report of the sect comes from Tertullian (*De Anima*, IX).[20]

Montanism can only be understood in relation to the times in which it arose. It was in part a protest against the increasing worldliness of second century Christianity and a call to return to the purity of early Christianity. Hence Montanus preached an ascetic morality, including celibacy, fasting, and abstinence from meat. Like the earliest Christians, Montanus and his followers believed implicitly in the early end of the age and the second coming of Christ. Most characteristic and most significant, religiously, was the belief of Montanus in prophetic inspiration, a *continuing* revelation in contrast to the concept of a fixed revelation in the past. One of Montanus' sayings was:

> Man is like a lyre, and I (the Holy Spirit) play on him like a plectrum (stick with which the lyre is struck). Man sleeps; I (the Holy Spirit) am awake. See; it is the Lord who takes men's hearts out of their breasts and gives to men a heart.[21]

It is true, no doubt, that "Montanism stands in church history as an illustration of the kind of apocalyptic, ecstatic, puritanical religion which has recurrently appeared."[22] Yet the call to return to the springs of the Christian movement is one that needs to be repeated from time to time. It should be remembered that in Montanus' time Christian "faith" was being turned into "the faith" and identified with a set of doctrines. The Lord's Supper, originally a simple fellowship

[19] See Appendix C (I).

[20] See Appendix C (II). Tertullian at first opposed, later joined the movement and remained an adherent and defender until his death.

[21] Epiphanius, *Contra Haereses*, quoted in Rufus M. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1909), p. 40.

[22] J. A. Hutchison and J. A. Martin, Jr., *Ways of Faith* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1953), p. 259.

meal, was rapidly being converted into a mysterious sacrificial rite. The belief in God's revelation was changing from its early spontaneity and immediacy into something more remote. The fact that Montanism had a contribution to make in its own time is attested by the response to the movement, especially in Asia Minor, and by its survival there and in Carthage until the fifth century A.D., as well as the following it won in other parts of the Mediterranean world, including Rome, Gaul, and North Africa. Montanus has had many spiritual descendants, such as the mystic-theologian Swedenborg, and the poet-prophet William Blake, both of whom reaffirmed their faith in continuing revelation.

THE APPEAL TO APOSTOLIC AUTHORITY. The response of the Christian majority, especially in the West, to the conflicting claims of Gnostics, Montanists, and Marcionites was a tightening of organization and the beginnings of a definition of the faith. Whereas Christianity had previously been only a loosely organized aggregation of churches, there now emerged a "Catholic" church, usually referred to as the "Ancient Catholic Church" to distinguish it from the medieval or Roman Catholic Church. The earliest reference to the "Catholic Church" comes from Ignatius of Antioch (died *c.* 110). Here the word "catholic" is clearly used in the sense of universal. "Wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church."[23] By the end of the second century, however, the term had come into use in a technical sense to describe the Ancient Catholic Church, a formally organized religious institution, with a ruling hierarchy of bishops, a collection of authoritative New Testament books, and a formulated creed. "About A.D. 50 he was of the church who had received baptism and the Holy Spirit and called Jesus, Lord; about A.D. 180 he who acknowledged the rule of faith (creed), the New Testament canon, and the authority of the bishops."[24]

The resort to authority involved losses, an inevitable limitation upon spontaneity and a tendency toward the external-

[23] *Epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans,* VIII, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers,* I, 90.

[24] Walker, *op. cit.,* p. 57.

izing and rigidifying of faith, but it is hard to see how this could have been avoided without courting the even greater danger that the things really basic to Christianity might have been overlooked or compromised in a welter of competing *isms*. Irenaeus was one of the first leaders of the early church to appeal to Apostolic authority. He taught that authority lies in the writings of the Apostles and in the churches founded by Apostles. None of the accretions of Gnosticism or later heresies, he said, is associated with the tradition of the apostolic churches. This is so because the Apostles were invested with power from on high when the Holy Spirit descended upon them. They had perfect knowledge and all of them equally and individually possessed the Gospel of God. Matthew produced a written Gospel for the "Hebrews" in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul were laying the foundations of the church in Rome. Mark later put down in writing what had been preached by Peter. Luke, Paul's companion, recorded the Gospel preached by him. John, the Beloved Disciple, published a gospel during his residence in Ephesus of Asia.[25]

Creed, canon, bishops—these became the depositories of apostolic authority. The Apostles' Creed, the oldest creed of the church, was probably formulated in its original form in Rome between A.D. 150 and 175 in conscious opposition to Marcionism. This briefer form of the Apostles' Creed is referred to by both Irenaeus and Tertullian and was regarded by them as having Apostolic authority. In its origin, the Apostles' Creed was an expansion of the baptismal formula of Matthew 28:19, "baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." The italicized words in the following original wording of the creed suggest its purpose to combat Gnostic teachings.

I believe in God the Father *Almighty;* and in Christ Jesus, His *only begotten Son,* our Lord, who was *born* of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, *crucified* under Pontius Pilate and *buried;* the third day He rose from the dead, ascended into the heavens, being seated at

[25] For the detailed statement on which this summary is based, see Irenaeus, *Against Heresies,* III, 1, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers,* I, 417.

the right hand of the Father, whence He shall come to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit, holy church, forgiveness of sins, *resurrection of the flesh.*[26]

The story of the formation of the New Testament canon is a complex one.[27] Apostolic authority also played its role here in the selection of books thought worthy to be placed side by side with the Old Testament as Scripture. Although in the early period of Christian history only the Old Testament had been treated as Scripture, in the course of time certain Christian writings came to be held in increasingly high regard. Thus by the end of the first century a collection of Paul's letters may have been made and used from time to time in church services. Justin Martyr, writing about A.D. 150, states that "on the day called Sunday, all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits. . . ."[28] The first reference to a passage from the Gospels viewed as Scripture is found in the so-called Epistle of Barnabas (about A.D. 130). Polycarp, in his Letter to the Philippians, is the first to refer to a passage from Paul's letters as Scripture.[29]

Christian writings were grouped at first not into chapters of a single book as today, but into a number of collections arranged by types—Gospels, letters attributed to Paul, catholic or general epistles, apocalyptic writings, etc. As we have seen, Marcion, by grouping together ten letters of Paul and the Gospel of Luke (but not Acts) and declaring them to be authoritative Scripture, acted as the catalytic agent in the development of a generally accepted New Testament canon. As against Marcion's championship of one Gospel only, Irenaeus found apostolic authority for four Gospels, and this came to be the official view of the Church.

[26] K. S. Latourette, *A History of Christianity* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), pp. 135–36 illustrates in detail the ante-Marcionite orientation of the Apostles' Creed.

[27] See, for example, M. S. Enslin, *Christian Beginnings* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1956), pp. 203–205 and chap. xiv.

[28] *Apology,* LXVII, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers,* I, 185–86.

[29] Philippians XII, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers,* I, 35.

Some books now included in the canon were not as readily accepted as others; for example, the Gospel of John found acceptance somewhat later than the first three Gospels. The Revelation of John was the only apocalypse to be included and its inclusion was long debated. Books that were actually used in churches for a time but were eventually dropped from the Canon include the Didache, The Shepherd of Hermas, the Apocalypse of Peter, and the Epistle of Barnabas. A list of books considered worthy of use in worship in the church at Rome about the year 200 is given in the so-called Muratorian Canon, named after the Italian scholar Muratori, who found the list in a library in Milan in 1740. What Muratori found was a fragment of a list of books accepted in the Roman Church in the latter part of the second century. The list was written in barbarous Latin probably by an eighth century scribe, but the Greek original presumably goes back to the end of the second century. The beginning of the list is missing; the fragment we have starts with a reference to Mark, and then names the following books: Luke, John, Acts, Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Galatians, Thessalonians, Romans, Philemon, Titus, I and II Timothy, Jude, I and II John, the Apocalypse of John, and the Apocalypse of Peter.[30] However, it was not until A.D. 367 in a letter written by Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, that we find a canonical list identical with that recognized today.

The third line of defense against heresy was the claim of apostolic succession of the bishops. Irenaeus, writing before the end of the second century, uses an interesting figure of speech to describe the deposit of the faith left for Christians by the early Apostles: ". . . the apostles, like a rich man (depositing his money) in a bank, lodged in her [i.e., the Church's] hands most copiously all things pertaining to the truth . . ."[31] This authoritative tradition is of two kinds, according to Irenaeus, written and unwritten. The apostolic writings contain the written authority and the unwritten or oral tradition is guaranteed by the chain of authority, handed

[30] Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church*, pp. 40–41.
[31] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, III, 4, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, I, 416.

down successively from the time of Paul to holders of the episcopate, Linus being the first named in this office.[32]

It is a far cry from the traveling evangelists of the first century to the monarchical bishopric (the chief bishop in each area claiming authority over the other bishops) of the late second century. Clement of Rome in the last decade of the first century was the first to advance the theory of apostolic succession as applied to church officers.[33] Ignatius of Antioch (d. A.D. 110) shortly afterward advanced the claim for the authority of the monarchical bishop.[34] Thus "it was the union of these principles, a monarchical bishop in apostolical succession, which occurred before the middle of the second century, that immensely enhanced the dignity and power of the bishopric."[35] Before the end of the first quarter of the third century A.D., Bishop Callistus of Rome was to make the claim that he was the successor of St. Peter. This was the first time a Roman bishop had made such a statement. Eventually another Roman bishop, Leo I (A.D. 440–461), formulated the theory of papal supremacy over all Christendom.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

Correspondence between Pliny the Younger and Trajan

[Pliny the Younger (A.D. 62?–113) rose to the office of consul and died in the proconsular service as governor of Bithynia. An exchange of letters between him and the Emperor Trajan (ruled A.D. 98–117) throws light on the status of Christianity in Asia Minor in the early years of the second century A.D. The letters here reproduced show that being a Christian was equivalent to being a criminal. Yet it is clear that Trajan advocated a policy he considered tolerant. The correspondence also exemplifies the policy of "rescripts"; i.e., Pliny reserved action until he had received an

[32] *Ibid.*
[33] Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] *Ibid.*

answer in writing from the emperor on a matter relating to Roman law.]

I. Letter of Pliny to Trajan, *c.* A.D. 112[36]

It is my rule, Sire, to refer to you in matters where I am uncertain. For who can better direct my hesitation or instruct my ignorance? I was never present at any trial of Christians; therefore I do not know what are the customary penalties or investigations, and what limits are observed. I have hesitated a great deal on the question whether there should be any distinction of ages; whether the weak should have the same treatment as the more robust; whether those who recant should be pardoned, or whether a man who has ever been a Christian should gain nothing by ceasing to be such; whether the name itself, even if innocent of crime, should be punished, or only the crimes attaching to that name.

Meanwhile, this is the course that I have adopted in the case of those brought before me as Christians. I ask them if they are Christians. If they admit it I repeat the question a second and a third time, threatening capital punishment; if they persist I sentence them to death. For I do not doubt that, whatever kind of crime it may be to which they have confessed, their pertinacity and inflexible obstinacy should certainly be punished. There were others who displayed a like madness and whom I reserved to be sent to Rome, since they were Roman citizens.

Thereupon the usual result followed; the very fact of my dealing with the question led to a wider spread of the charge, and a great variety of cases were brought before me. An anonymous pamphlet was issued, containing many names. All who denied that they were or had been Christians I considered should be discharged, because they called upon the gods at my dictation and did reverence, with incense and wine, to your image which I had ordered to be brought forward for the purpose, together with the statues of the deities; and especially because they cursed Christ, a thing which, it is said, genuine Christians cannot be induced to do. Others named by the informer first said that they were Christians and then denied it; declaring that they had been but were so no longer, some having recanted three years or more before and one or two as long ago as twenty years. They all worshiped your image and the statues of the gods and cursed Christ. But they declared that the sum of their guilt or error had amounted only to this, that on an appointed day they had been accustomed to meet before daybreak, and to recite a hymn antiphonally to Christ, as to a god, and to bind themselves by an oath, not for the commission of any crime, but to abstain from theft, rob-

[36] Henry Bettenson (ed.), *Documents of the Christian Church* (New York and London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1947), pp. 5–7.

bery, adultery, and breach of faith, and not to deny a deposit when it was claimed. After the conclusion of this ceremony it was their custom to depart and meet again to take food; but it was ordinary and harmless food, and they had ceased this practice after my edict in which, in accordance with your orders, I had forbidden secret societies. I thought it the more necessary, therefore, to find out what truth there was in this by applying torture to two maidservants, who were called deaconesses. But I found nothing but a depraved and extravagant superstition, and I therefore postponed my examination and had recourse to you for consultation.

The matter seemed to me to justify my consulting you, especially on account of the number of those imperiled; for many persons of all ages and classes and of both sexes are being put in peril by accusation, and this will go on. The contagion of this superstition has spread not only in the cities, but in the villages and rural districts as well; yet it seems capable of being checked and set right. There is no shadow of doubt that the temples, which have been almost deserted, are beginning to be frequented once more, that the sacred rites which have been long neglected are being renewed, and that sacrificial victims are for sale everywhere, whereas, till recently, a buyer was rarely to be found. From this it is easy to imagine what a host of men could be set right, were they given a chance to recantation.

II. Trajan's Reply to Pliny[37]

You have taken the right line, my dear Pliny, in examining the cases of those denounced to you as Christians, for no hard and fast rule can be laid down, of universal application. They are not to be sought out; if they are informed against, and the charge is proved, they are to be punished, with this reservation—that if anyone denies that he is a Christian, and actually proves it, that is by worshiping our gods, he shall be pardoned as a result of his recantation, however suspect he may have been with respect to the past. Pamphlets published anonymously should carry no weight in any charge whatsoever. They constitute a very bad precedent, and are also out of keeping with this age.

Appendix B

Irenaeus Against Marcion[38]

[Irenaeus (born *c.* A.D. 130) became Bishop of Lyons in Gaul and principal writer against the heretics. Marcion (born *c.* A.D. 85) was the first church reformer. He was not actually a Gnostic, as charged,

[37] Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church*, p. 7.

[38] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, I, xxvii, 2–3, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, I, 352.

although he had been influenced by the Gnostic teacher Cerdo in Rome. The only basis for such a charge is that he did believe in a divine duality rather than unity. He could not believe that the Creator of this world with its evil and pain could be the same as the God of mercy taught by Jesus.]

Marcion of Pontus succeeded him (Cerdo), and developed his doctrine. In so doing, he advanced the most daring blasphemy against Him who is proclaimed as God by the law and the prophets, declaring Him to be the author of evils, to take delight in war, to be infirm of purpose, and even to be contrary to Himself. But Jesus being derived from that father who is above the God that made the world, and coming into Judaea in the times of Pontius Pilate the governor, who was the procurator of Tiberius Caesar, was manifested in the form of a man to those who were in Judaea, abolishing the prophets and the law, and all the works of that God who made the world, whom also he calls Cosmocrator. Besides this he mutilates the Gospel which is according to Luke, removing all that is written respecting the generation of the Lord, and setting aside a great deal of the teaching of the Lord, in which the Lord is recorded as most clearly confessing that the Maker of this universe is His Father. . . . In like manner, too, he dismembered the Epistles of Paul, removing all that is said by the apostle respecting that God who made the world, to the effect that He is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also those passages from the prophetical writings which the apostle quotes, in order to teach us that they announced beforehand the coming of the Lord.

Salvation will be the attainment only of those souls which had learned his doctrine; while the body, as having been taken from the earth, is incapable of sharing in salvation.

Appendix C

Two Reports of Montanism

I. An Unfavorable Report by Eusebius[39]

[Eusebius (*c.* A.D. 263–340), Bishop of Caesarea, was the leading church historian of early Christianity. His most important work was the *Ecclesiastical History*, in ten volumes written in A.D. 324 or 325.]

There is said to be a certain village named Ardabau, in Mysia on the borders of Phrygia. There, they say, when Gratus was proconsul of Asia, a recent convert, Montanus by name—who, in his boundless desire for leadership, gave the adversary opportunity against him—

[39] J. C. Ayer (ed.), *A Source Book for Ancient Church History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), pp. 107 f.

first became inspired; and falling into a sort of frenzy and ecstasy raved and began to babble and utter strange sounds, prophesying in a manner contrary to the traditional and constant custom of the Church from the beginning. . . . And he stirred up, besides, two women (Maximilla and Priscilla), and filled them with the false spirit, so that they talked frantically, at unseasonable times, and in a strange manner, like the person already mentioned. . . . And the arrogant spirit taught them to revile the universal and entire Church under heaven, because the spirit of false prophecy received from it neither honor nor entrance into it; for the faithful in Asia met often and in many places throughout Asia to consider this matter and to examine the recent utterances, and they pronounced them profane and rejected the heresy, and thus these persons were expelled from the Church and shut out from the communion.

II. A Favorable Report by Tertullian[40]

[Tertullian, the early Latin theologian, famous for his remark, "It is certain because it is impossible," was born of pagan parents about A.D. 160. Converted to Christianity in his maturity, he later embraced Montanism because of his ascetic sympathies. This account was written after his adoption of Montanism.]

We have now amongst us a sister whose lot it has been to be favoured with sundry gifts of revelation, which she experiences in the Spirit by ecstatic vision amidst the sacred rites of the Lord's day in the church: she converses with angels, and sometimes even with the Lord; she both sees and hears mysterious communications; some men's hearts she understands, and to them who are in need she distributes remedies. Whether it be in the reading of Scriptures, or in the chanting of psalms, or in the preaching of sermons, or in the offering up of prayers, in all these religious services matter and opportunity are afforded to her of seeing visions. It may possibly have happened to us, whilst this sister of ours was rapt in the Spirit, that we had discourses in some ineffable way about the soul. After the people are dismissed at the conclusion of the sacred services, she is in the regular habit of reporting to us whatever things she may have seen in vision (for all her communications are examined with the most scrupulous care, in order that their truth may be probed).

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. What were the farthest boundaries of Christianity in the mid-second century A.D.?

[40] *De Anima,* IX, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers,* III, 188.

2. Contrast first century relationships of the Roman government to Christianity with those of the third century A.D.
3. What popular criticisms of Christianity are reflected in Celsus' second century book, *The True Word*?
4. Who were the Apologists and what did they accomplish?
5. Account for the adoption of *Logos* as a key word of Greek Christian thought.
6. What was the relationship of the Logos, or Son, to God, the Father, according to Clement of Alexandria? According to Origen?
7. Discuss the origin and general character of Gnosticism.
8. What were some basic tenets of Christian Gnosticism? Why was it a threat to Christianity?
9. Who was Marcion and what did he teach? What did Marcion contribute to the making of the New Testament Canon?
10. What was Montanism like? See both the favorable and unfavorable reports in the Source Material.
11. Account for the development of creed, canon, and bishopric.
12. What is the connection between Gnosticism and the Apostle's Creed?
13. How and why was appeal to Apostolic authority invoked?

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

AYER, J. C. (ed.). *A Source Book for Ancient Church History.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913. Division I (to A.D. 324) includes source material relating to the following topics considered in this chapter: the Neronian persecution, the persecution under Domitian, Celsus' *The True Word,* Justin Martyr's *Apology,* Gnostic writings, Marcionism, Montanism, and much else.

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COCHRANE, C. N. *Christianity and Classical Culture. A Study of Thought and Action from Augustus to Augustine.* (A Galaxy Book.) New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957. Chap. v contains an interesting evaluation of the achievement of Constantine. Chap. vi, "Quid Athenae Hierosolymis?" is valuable for interpretations and original translations of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, Arius, Athanasius, and others.

COXE, A. CLEVELAND (ed.). *The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925. Vol. I includes the writings of Justin Martyr; Vol. II, Clement of Alexandria and others; Vol. III, Tertullian; Vol. IV, Tertullian (cont.), Minucius Felix, Origen (including Origen against Celsus).

ENSLIN, M. S. *Christian Beginnings.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1938. Enslin stresses importance of Marcion, particularly in relation to development of New Testament canon, and defends him against charges of heresy. See pp. 462–466, but consult index for numerous additional references to Marcion.

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Chapter 13

CHRISTIANITY BECOMES THE IMPERIAL STATE CHURCH

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. Under Constantine Christianity achieved a new status in the Roman world. Not only was persecution of Christians ended, but Christianity soon gained a favorite position in the empire. Galerius issued the Edict of Toleration in A.D. 311,[1] but it carried the signatures also of Constantine and Licinius. The Edict of Milan[2] in A.D. 313, which carried further the toleration of Christianity, was announced in the names of Constantine and Licinius, "Emperors," although some historians say that Constantine had already granted toleration for those under his rule and that the Edict of Milan simply extended this freedom to Christians subject to the rule of Licinius in the eastern part of the empire.

Constantine displayed his favor toward Christians in numerous ways. In A.D. 319 he extended to the Christian clergy the same exemption from certain obligations to the state which had hitherto been the privilege of priests of other religions. Financial subsidies were also granted to specified members of the Christian priesthood. In A.D. 321 Sunday was recognized as a legal holiday in the cities, although in the countryside agricultural work was still permitted. Church property seized during persecution was restored and, in addition, Constantine gave his support to the building and enlarging of many Christian churches, particularly in Byzantium, which he named New Rome but which came to be known as Constantinople, in honor of the emperor. Constantinople now took the place of Rome as the political center

[1] See Appendix A.
[2] See Appendix B.

of the Roman Empire. As a further indication of his sympathetic interest, Constantine had his children given instruction in the Christian faith.

It would be a mistake, however, to magnify the religious element in the life of Constantine. The alleged vision of the cross at the Milvian Bridge and the slogan "In hoc signo vinces" is not proof that Constantine experienced a genuine religious conversion. There is no indication that the teachings of the humble Galilean ever displaced the thirst for power in the life of Constantine. It seems more probable that he saw in Christianity, with its vigor and ability to survive even in the face of violent persecutions, a force that might be able to supply the very inner strength that was needed now to hold the empire together. This is not to deny that Constantine displayed a sympathetic interest in Christianity which continued throughout his lifetime and that he accepted baptism into the Christian faith on his deathbed. Nevertheless, it should also be remembered that even after the promulgation of the Edict of Toleration, Constantine tolerated paganism and indeed gave encouragement to the anti-Christian imperial cult. In his personal life Constantine was a man given to emotional outbursts sometimes accompanied by brutal violence. He had his own son Crispus put to death on the basis of charges levied by Fausta, his wife, and later, when those charges were proved false, he had Fausta, too, put to death. Constantine's public support of Christianity was no doubt for the most part politically motivated. Yet under his patronage and that of his successors, for better or for worse, Christianity entered a new phase. By the end of the fourth century Christianity had become the imperial state church.

THE NICENE CONTROVERSY. If Constantine had hoped that by throwing his weight behind the Christian church it would help establish unity within the empire, he soon learned that he was sadly mistaken. The Nicene controversy soon proved that.

The Nicene controversy is one of four great controversies in Christian history: the Gnostic, the Nicene, that of the

Reformation period, and the modern conflict between religion and science. The dispute that culminated in the protracted Nicene controversy arose in Alexandria between Arius and his bishop, Alexander, although the elderly bishop was later replaced by Athanasius as defender and champion of what was to become the orthodox position. The basic issue was the relationship of Christ as the Logos, or Word, to God, or as we should say today, the relationship between the first and second Persons of the Trinity. The Nicene dispute was, as a matter of fact, one stage in the development of Trinitarianism. The doctrine of the Trinity, formulated over a period of centuries, is foreshadowed as early as the period of the New Testament, as we have previously seen, in the baptismal formula of Matthew 28:19 with its reference to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The Trinitarian formula appears in the earliest, second-century form of the Apostles' Creed which lists the three Persons but does not define their relationship to each other. Indeed, the Nicene Creed, in the form adopted in A.D. 325, is not actually a statement of belief in the Trinity, since it focuses upon the relationship of Christ to God, and only casually adds "And (we believe) in the Holy Spirit." A contemporary theologian has defined the problem at Nicea as follows:

> At its outbreak the problem of the Trinity as such might not seem to have been directly involved. The theological issue at stake was, or seemed to be, a much narrower one, viz. the status of the Word and His relation to the Godhead. Was He fully divine, in the precise sense of the term, and therefore really akin to the Father? Or was He after all a creature, superior no doubt to the rest of creation, even by courtesy designated divine, but all the same separated by an unbridgeable chasm from the Godhead?[3]

The general question of the nature of Christ as the Word and the relationship of Christ to God had been discussed for many decades. In the West it was pretty well agreed that there was a unity of substance between God the Father and Christ the Word, or Son. In the East, however, where there

[3] J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London: A. & C. Black, Ltd., 1953), p. 153.

was much more interest in theological subtleties, there was less agreement. It was there that this all-important issue was joined in the Arian controversy.

Arius was a parish priest of a church in Alexandria. He was about 62 years of age at the time, "tall, handsome, ascetic, earnestly religious, an eloquent preacher (who) gave the impression of being arrogant."[4] Arius had been a pupil of Lucian of Antioch, and while at Antioch had adopted monarchian views, that is, he emphasized the unity (monarchia) of the nature of God as opposed to belief in personal distinctions within the Godhead. Along with this emphasis upon the transcendent unity of God, Arius also accepted a Logos doctrine of Christ which went back ultimately to Origen. Two different schools of interpretation existed in relation to Origen's teaching about the Logos. One view, which could be supported from Origen, held that the Logos was equal to and co-eternal with God the Father. The other interpretation, which could also be defended from Origen's writings, insisted that the Logos was a creature and subordinate to the Father. Arius' combination of monarchianism with the Logos doctrine made it inevitable that he should adopt the latter interpretation of Origen's meaning. Alexander, Arius' bishop, held to the other understanding of what Origen had said. To Arius this was heretical and he told Alexander exactly what he thought.

> Alexander, so he said, taught that "God is always, the Son is always," and the Son "is the unbegotten begotten." In contrast, Arius maintained that "the Son has a beginning but that God is without beginning" and that the Son is not a part of God.[5]

Bishop Alexander then called a synod meeting and had Arius excommunicated locally in A.D. 321. However, Arius fled to Asia Minor, where he took refuge with his friend Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia and, like Arius, a former pupil of Lucian of Antioch. Bishop Eusebius supported Arius and declared his position orthodox in 323. Much dissension followed.

[4] K. S. Latourette, *A History of Christianity* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), p. 153.

[5] *Ibid.*

Alexander corresponded with his friends and colleagues in the church to enlist their support, and Arius busily expounded his views. This sharp disagreement arose, ironically enough, at the very time when Constantine, after a victory over Licinius in 324, had gained political control of the entire Roman Empire. Such then was the background of the Arian controversy that the Council of Nicea was called to settle.

THE COUNCIL OF NICEA. The First General Council of the Christian church met at Nicea in A.D. 325 in the province of Bithynia, not far from where the Strait of the Dardanelles joins the Black Sea. To Constantine, the business of the meeting was to dispose of an apparently minor religious disagreement which contained within it disturbing political possibilities. The assembly itself was an impressive body. Nearly three hundred bishops attended. Almost all of them were from the East—only six bishops from the West were present. Some of the bishops bore the marks of earlier persecution and torture. Also present as an honored guest, although he had not yet been baptized as a Christian, was the Emperor Constantine. There were many others present, of course, including hundreds of lesser clergy and laymen.

The emperor made the opening address, and the meeting then got underway. The long-harbored disagreements quickly made their appearance. It soon became apparent that there were three parties with their own separate viewpoints: a small but determined group of supporters of Arius led by Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia, another small group of supporters of Bishop Alexander of Alexandria, and a large majority of uncommitted delegates. Bishop Alexander was accompanied by a deacon, Athanasius, who was later to become the champion of the Alexandrian point of view.

Soon after the council meeting began the Arian party offered a creed which was rejected. Then Eusebius of Caesarea in Palestine arose to present the creed in use in his own church.[6] The creed was adopted after an important addition had been made, the words "begotten, not made" and "of one essence" (*homoousion*), and after the exclusion of

[6] See Appendix C, I.

certain definitely Arian words and phrases. It is thought that Western influence, especially that of Hosius of Cordova together with the support of the emperor, was responsible for the insertion of *homoousion.* This wording had long had the approval of the West, and if the East could be persuaded to adopt it, the emperor may have reasoned, the desired basis of agreement would be found. This reading of the creed was approved by all but two of the bishops in attendance.[7] It was a victory for Alexander and Athanasius and their party and a defeat for Arius.

COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND NEW-NICENE CREED. The controversy, however, was only begun. *Homoousion* versus *homoiousion* (the *same* versus *similar* substance) became the great issue in a debate which continued to vex the empire for many decades. From A.D. 325 to 344 the Arian party, led by Eusebius of Nicomedia, conducted undercover intrigue to displace the Nicene leaders. From 344 to 361, with the approval of Constantius, the second son of Constantine and eventually successor to the rule of the entire empire, the Arians experienced much freedom. During this period the Arians themselves divided into three groups, one of which became known as the semi-Arians or Homoiousion party. But a new element in the general situation was introduced in 361 when Julian (often although inaccurately called "the Apostate") came to the throne.

Julian had always been a sincere admirer of the older Hellenic culture and during his brief reign (A.D. 361–363) he made what proved to be the last attempt to restore the older pagan faith. The restoration failed, but the so-called Julian persecution showed that Arianism, with its subordination of the person of Christ in relation to the deity, was weaker in its resistance to attack than was the Athanasian position. Eventually the semi-Arians (Homoiousians) and the Nicene party got together and made possible the final condemnation of Arianism at Constantinople in A.D. 381.

The Council of Constantinople of 381 was the Second General Council of the Church, but it is doubtful if it deserves

[7] See Appendix C, II.

this title. The Nicene Creed, in the form accepted today by Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and many Protestant Christians, is in tradition credited to this Council of Constantinople,[8] although other theories have been proposed about the history of this formula. At any rate, this New-Nicene Creed represents the victory of *homoousion* over *homoiousion,* but with the compromise understanding that while there was only one *ousia* (substance), there might be three hypostases (persons) within the nature of God. The chief addition to the Nicene formula of A.D. 325 comes toward the end, where reference is made to the Holy Spirit. "The amplification of the clause about the Holy Spirit was put in to make it clear that the Spirit is not subordinate, for while the term *homoousion* was not applied to the Spirit, the intent is clear: the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are uncreated and are to be worshipped together as one God."[9]

THE MEANING OF THE NICENE CONTROVERSY. It is sometimes difficult for moderns to understand what the Nicene controversy was all about. Was it merely a tempest in a teapot? Surely not. There was much at stake. But to understand this it is necessary to translate the basic issue into the language of our own day. When we do so we see clearly that what was at stake was the spiritual meaning of Jesus for Christians, Jesus in his larger significance as a revelation of God, Jesus as the Christ.

The sincerity of both sides in the discussion must be recognized. Arius thought Christ's importance would be lessened if he were merged with the Godhead. Athanasians, as the opponents of Arius came to be called, claimed that Arius made Christ an inferior deity and opened the way for polytheism to creep back into Christianity. Who was right, Arius or Athanasius? William Temple, formerly Archbishop of Canterbury, once answered this question by saying that *logically,* in terms of his premises, Arius was right. The term Logos had been developed by philosophers who were trying to bridge the gap between the perfect, eternal, and change-

[8] See Appendix C, III.
[9] Latourette, *op. cit.,* p. 164.

less God and the imperfect, changing world he had created. The Logos as an intermediary had to stand somewhere between the two.

Hence Arius was logically right, from his own point of view, in pressing his logical point that a son cannot be co-eternal with his father. If Christ is "of one substance with the Father," He could not be the Mediator of *Creation* in the terms of contemporary thought, because He could not act as the link between the eternal God and the perishable world; to fulfil this function, He must in His own Nature be something between the two.[10]

Yet *religiously*, Athanasius was right. According to contemporary thought, redemption could come only if imparted from God, if the divine had stooped to human life.

He cannot be the Mediator of *Redemption* unless He is of one substance with the Father. . . . Mediation by an Intermediary is impossible, because the Intermediary Himself must either be perfect (and therefore, in the terms of that day, of one substance with the Father, and not intermediary at all) or imperfect (and therefore incapable of imparting perfection). Hence if we attend to the problem of creation we are logically required to be Arians; if to that of redemption, to follow Athanasius. . . . The real significance of Athanasius is this: at a time when there was great danger that the Church would become a philosophical society upholding a particular modification of Neo-Platonic Cosmology, he insisted on its religious and practical function, and by the triumph of his cause perpetuated the formula by which, at that time, this function was represented. The distinction between "like substance" and "same substance" seems to us abstract enough and quite remote from most men's living interest; at that time it represented the whole difference between philosophy in its narrower sense and a full, living religion.[11]

The New-Nicene Creed met the needs of Christians in the fourth and immediately succeeding centuries. The divinity of Christ as defined in this Trinitarian formula represented for them an experienced truth which they found adequately described in the language of the creed. Today in the twentieth century it is still the belief of the majority of Christians

[10] William Temple, *Foundations* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1912), p. 227.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 227–228.

that "God was acting in and through Jesus Christ,"[12] which is basically what the creed says. Some present-day Christians find no difficulty in repeating the literal wording of the creed. Others prefer to think of this and the other early creeds as symbols of the faith, and would even say they are better sung than said:

> Of course, these words should be sung! They are the very heart of Christian doctrine, as set forth in the New Testament and in all orthodox theology. But they are purest poetry, and can never be proved, like scientific formulas or historical statements or other prosaic records of fact. Their truth lies on beyond the range of historical or factual demonstration, though in the same direction as our grasp of the general meaning of history leads us to follow; and the full apprehension of that truth involves imagination on our part, i.e., a poetic quality in us akin to that which produced this transcendent terminology, and it also involves a set of the will, the "leap" of faith, the submission of ourselves to the full consequences of that apprehension, once it is made. . . .[13]

THE CREED OF CHALCEDON. Like the Council of Nicea in 325, the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451 was called by the ruler, in this case, the Empress Pulcheria and her husband and co-ruler, Marcian, for the sake of preserving unity of faith within the empire. Most of the bishops thought the Nicene formula as good as could be expected. The Nicene Creed had affirmed the two natures of Christ, divine and human, but of the same substance with God the Father: "the only begotten Son of God . . . very God of very God . . . being of one substance with the Father . . . came down from heaven . . . and was made man." There was profound religious meaning in Athanasius' doctrine of a union of two natures in Christ. Athanasius had put it movingly: "He became human that we might be made divine."[14] But Athanasius had not explained *how* this could be so, and many conflicting theories had arisen about the matter which in a day

[12] William Hordern, *A Layman's Guide to Protestant Theology* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955), pp. 25–26.

[13] F. C. Grant, in *Munera Studiosa*, ed. M. H. Shepherd, Jr. (Cambridge: Episcopal Theological School, 1946), p. 176.

[14] *De Incarnatione*, LIV.

of widespread theological interest threatened to create deep divisions within the empire.

How, then, were the divine and human elements related to each other? This was an almost impossible problem to solve. The School of Alexandria tended to absorb the humanity of Christ in divinity. The School of Antioch, on the other hand, stood for the full humanity of Christ. One attempt to reconcile the two positions was made by Apollinaris (d. 390), a younger friend of Athanasius and fundamentally in sympathy with the Alexandrian position. He proposed the view that Christ had a human body and a human soul, but that the divine Logos took the place of a human mind in him. This pleased neither side. Theodore of Mopsuestia, an influential Syrian theologian who became bishop of Mopsuestia in southern Asia Minor in A.D. 392, preferred to emphasize the manhood of Christ; he believed that Christ received the Logos progressively and that the union of these two natures was completed only at the Ascension.

Nestorius, Theodore's pupil, carried the emphasis upon the historic Christ still further. Unfortunately, he aroused emotional resistance by denying the popular doctrine that Mary was the Mother of God (*Theotokos*), suggesting instead the title Mother of Christ (*Christotokos*) on the ground that the Father had begotten Jesus as God and Mary had begotten him only as man. Nestorius was at this time patriarch of Constantinople (A.D. 428–431), and the furore over this issue enabled his ecclesiastical enemies to oust him from office. Nestorius was deposed in 431 and his view condemned. Finally, in 451 at Chalcedon, across the Bosphorus from Constantinople, the Fourth General Council adopted the doctrine of two natures in one person.[15]

The Definition of Chalcedon has been accepted as orthodox by Greek, Roman Catholic, and most Protestant Christians down to the present day. It represents the deeply felt conviction of orthodox Christianity that somehow it is essential to believe that Jesus Christ was at the same time truly

[15] See Appendix D.

divine and truly human. The Council of Chalcedon did not explain how this could be in terms that satisfied all leaders of the fifth-century church. Many Oriental Christians—including much of the population of Syria and Armenia, the Copts (the native Christian church of Egypt), and the Abysinnians—never did accept Chalcedon and clung to the "one nature" (Monophysite) theory of the person of Christ.

It is easy to criticize the Definition of Chalcedon as not really settling the Christological question. One may also condemn the party spirit, ecclesiastical politics, and factionalism displayed at this and earlier councils. And yet one may believe, in the light of the later course of events, that some good came out of these controversies. "Despite the mortal weaknesses that were so evident, the Church set its face squarely against the forces which would have robbed Christianity of its monotheism and its historical Jesus and which would have pulled Christianity down to the level of pagan faiths."[16]

DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH ORGANIZATION. Christian churches from the very beginning had a sense of their basic unity. This was symbolized by the references in Paul's letters to the church as the Body of Christ. Only gradually did the need emerge for organization and discipline to provide a workable basis of unity. In the Jerusalem church, for example, Peter, the earliest leader, was succeeded within a dozen years after the crucifixion by James, the brother of Jesus. The appointment of the seven in Jerusalem is sometimes spoken of as the origin of the system of deacons, but this is uncertain. Reference, too, is occasionally made to the "bishopric" of James, but, again, this is a courtesy title applied only in later literature and not attached to James' office in the Jewish Christian community of his own day. The fact is that the earliest Gentile churches had no fixed leadership, but relied rather upon charismatic individuals, bearers of various gifts of the Spirit (I Cor. 12:4 ff.). In one passage Paul gives priority to apostles, prophets, and teachers (I Cor.

[16] William Hordern, *A Layman's Guide to Protestant Theology* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955), pp. 25–26.

12:28). Of his own call to be an apostle, Paul says that it came directly from God and "not from man," (Gal. 1:11) and this would no doubt apply to others called of the Spirit. Some of these charismatic leaders were traveling evangelists, like Paul, but before the end of the first century, local, resident officials are mentioned. These officials may still have been charismatic individuals, but the existence of permanent offices marks an advance over the situation described in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians.

In Philippians, one of his latest letters, Paul speaks of "bishops and deacons of the church in Philippi" (Phil. 1:1). Deacons (the Greek original is *diakonos,* meaning servant or minister) appear to have been the helpers of presbyters or bishops. The distinction between presbyters and bishops in early Christianity is hard to draw. Presbyter (from the Greek *presbyteros*) is translated "elder" in English and is the word from which the later term "priest" is derived, while bishop (from the Greek *episcopos*) means literally "overseer" or "superintendent." In some regions each church appears to have had a group of presbyter-bishops who were assisted by deacons. In other places each congregation seems to have had a three-fold ministry of a single bishop, presbyters, and deacons. In such a case, the ruling bishop would be selected from the presbyters. A bishop had to be a presbyter, therefore, but a presbyter was not necessarily a bishop. The next step would be to have a single bishop for all the churches in a city, and in the process of time rural bishops tended to disappear, authority being given to the nearest city bishop. By the third century bishops were regarded as successors of the apostles. Gradually there developed ecclesiastical provinces, patterned upon the divisions of the Roman Empire. The bishops of the greatest cities came to have supervision over several of these provinces and were known as patriarchs, corresponding to prefects of the empire. At the time of the Council of Chalcedon the order of recognized precedence seems to have been Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem,[17] although the rivalry between Rome

[17] Latourette, *op. cit.,* p. 172.

and Constantinople continued for centuries and the authority of the Roman pope was never recognized by the Eastern Orthodox churches. The head of the Roman church at the time of the Council of Chalcedon, although he did not himself attend, was Leo the Great (A.D. 440–461). Leo stressed the primacy of Peter among the apostles and claimed that the authority of Peter had passed to his successors. The bishop of Rome, he declared, has "the care of all the churches, and the Lord, who made Peter the prince of the apostles holds (him) responsible for it," and on that basis obtained from Valentinian, then Emperor of the West, an edict affirming the ecclesiastical authority of the Roman bishop because the latter alone had the primacy of Peter.[18]

Whatever one makes of the "great commission" in the New Testament,[19] it is a historical fact that over the centuries the church of Rome achieved ascendancy in the West. Numerous reasons for this may be mentioned. The Roman church gained great prestige in the eyes of all Christians from its connection with the apostles Peter and Paul. It came to be regarded as the custodian of apostolic authority, particularly ous reasons for this may be mentioned. The Roman church took the lead in combating the Gnostic and Marcionite claims, by upholding and asserting apostolic tradition. Then, too, the Roman church gained prestige from its location in the capital of the empire. Even the transfer of imperial headquarters to Constantinople in the fourth century worked to its advantage, for the vacuum of authority left in the West was filled by the Church of Rome. But more important than any of the foregoing reasons is the fact that the Church of Rome had the leadership of a succession of great popes such as Innocent I (Pope, 401–417), Leo I (440–461), Gregory I (590–604), and later on, Gregory VII (1073–1085), under whom the struggle for power between church and state came to a head in the Middle Ages.

[18] See Appendix E.

[19] From the Roman Catholic viewpoint, the commission was granted to Peter only, but Protestants and others consider it to have been addressed to Peter as a disciple and to other disciples. See Matt. 16:17–19; Matt. 18:18; John 20:21–23.

MONASTICISM IN THE EAST. Anthony of Egypt (251?–*c.* 350) is considered the founder of Christian monasticism. Athanasius, born a half-century later, wrote a biography in which Anthony's call to be a monk is described in some detail:

> After the death of his parents, Anthony was left alone with one little sister. He was about eighteen or twenty years old, and on him rested the care of both the home and his sister. Now it happened not six months after the death of his parents, and when he was going, according to custom, into the Lord's house, and was communing with himself, that he reflected as he walked how the Apostles left all and followed the Saviour, and how, in the Acts, men sold their possessions and brought and laid them at the Apostles' feet for distribution to the needy, and what and how great a hope was laid up for them in heaven. While he was reflecting on these things he entered the church, and it happened that at that time the Gospel was being read, and he heard the Lord say to the rich man: "If thou wouldest be perfect, go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor; and come and follow me and thou shalt have treasure in heaven." Anthony, as though God had put him in mind of the saints and the passage had been read on his account, went out straightway from the Lord's house, and gave the possessions which he had from his forefathers to the villagers—they were three hundred acres, productive and very fair—that they should be no more a clog upon himself and his sister. And all the rest that was movable he sold, and, having got together much money, he gave it to the poor, reserving a little, however, for his sister's sake.[20]

Saint Anthony was a true ascetic, a word which in its etymological derivation means a (spiritual) athlete. He wished to devote himself completely to prayer and meditation together with the strictest self-denial, including celibacy and fasting. Receiving his "call" at the age of twenty, Anthony spent the next fifteen years in stern self-discipline, copying the example of a number of well-known ascetics who lived on the outskirts of his native village. The twenty years which followed he spent in absolute solitude. His zeal and steadfastness were greatly admired by other hermits who were attracted to the region by his example, and, at their request, shortly after A.D. 300 Anthony undertook to train and organ-

[20] J. C. Ayer, *A Source Book for Ancient Church History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), p. 249.

ize them into groups with occasional exercises in common, although without a written rule. Colonies like this, with individual monks living separately in caves, huts, or other habitations, but near enough to have fellowship together, are known as *lauras*. Two such colonies established and directed by Anthony have been located, one on the west side of the Nile just south of the Fayum and the other near the Red Sea. Some of St. Anthony's followers continued to live the solitary life, others adopted the loosely organized group existence, but of whatever type, the mode of life was basically that of the hermit.

Pachomius of Egypt (born *c.* A.D. 290) was the founder of cenobitic monasticism, a form of monastic life in which a group lives a common life, using a written rule. Pachomius became a Christian at the age of twenty and adopted the hermit life. It was then, according to tradition, that he received a call to create a new type of Christian asceticism.

> Pachomius was in an extraordinary degree a lover of mankind and a lover of the brotherhood. While he was sitting in his cave an angel appeared unto him and said: "Thou hast rightly ordered thy own life; needlessly therefore doest thou sit in the cave; come forth and bring together all the young monks and dwell with them, and legislate for them according to the examplar I will give thee." And he gave him a brazen tablet whereon was engraved the Rule.[21]

The provision of a written rule was an important innovation in the development of monasticism. It provided a definite plan for leading a disciplined life in common in which work was to be a vital part of the religious routine. Prescribed periods were to be devoted each day to group worship, Bible reading, and various kinds of manual labor.

Pachomius at first gathered around him a group of ascetics at Tabennisi, on the Nile in the province of Thebes, and established there the first Christian monastery. Palladius gives the following description of this monastic community:

> There were three hundred monks, who practised all handicrafts and gave of their surplus to support of nunneries and prisons. Those

[21] Palladius, quoted in *Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. M. M. Gwatkin and J. P. Whitney (Cambridge: University Press, 1911–1929), I, 523–524.

who were serving for the week got up at daybreak and some worked in kitchens while others laid the tables, putting on them loaves of bread, mustard leaves, olive salad, cheeses, chopped herbs, and pieces of meat for the old and sick. "And some come in and have their meal at noon, and others at 1 or at 2 or at 3 or at 5, or in the late evening, and others every second day. And their work was in like fashion: one worked in the fields, another in the garden, another in the smithy, another in the bakery, another in the tanyard, another at shoemaking, another at tailoring, another at calligraphy." The Rule indicates that they assembled in the church four times daily and took Communion on Saturday and Sunday.[22]

Before his death in A.D. 346 Pachomius founded a total of nine monasteries, plus a convent for women, and his followers numbered perhaps three thousand monks and nuns.

Basil (A.D. 329–379), the founder of Greek monasticism, made an important contribution in the development of "the common life" by an increased emphasis upon the importance of work and upon moderation of asceticism. When in his late twenties, Basil spent a year among the monks of Egypt and Syria and upon his return to Asia Minor became the leading advocate of monasticism in that part of the world. A friend, Eustathius by name, had already established monasteries at Sebaste, northeast of Basil's home at Caesarea in Cappadocia, and Basil's own mother, his sister, and a younger brother had already founded a religious community which was later to become a nunnery. About A.D. 360 Basil himself retired to a lonely place across the river from Caesarea and began to lead a monastic life in common with certain friends.

Although he himself was not destined to remain in monastic seclusion—he was drawn into public religious life and eventually became a bishop—nevertheless, Basil made a significant contribution to the development of monastic organization. The Basilian Rule that he drew up—consisting actually of a number of writings, including *The Longer Rules* and *The Shorter Rules*—became the basis of most rules formulated by monastic reformers of the Eastern churches, including the revision of St. Theodore of Studion (d. 829), the one most widely used at the present time. But Basil's influence

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 524.

was not restricted to the East. Cassian, a fifth-century monastic pioneer in Gaul, knew the Rule of Basil. Benedict of Nursia in the early sixth century patterned his famous rule after that of Basil, although he displayed considerable freedom in doing so.

Basil's specific contribution was an even greater emphasis upon the common life than that practiced by Pachomius and his followers in Egypt. Whereas the Pachomian monks lived in separate dwellings and each monk spent much of his time within his own cell in his respective house, with occasional group prayers by houses, Basil advocated a common roof, a common table, and a common prayer. He denied the superiority of the hermit life, with its excesses of asceticism. Instead he taught that monks should do good works for their fellow men. He established orphanages close to the monasteries and assigned monks to their supervision. Both boys and girls were received in these orphanages. Boys were taken into the monasteries for their education, but not to be trained as monks. Basil recommended manual work as a regular part of monastic life. Work, he said, was of greater religious significance than asceticism. Fasting, he added, ought not to be practiced to the point where it impeded manual labor. Here is a description of life in a Basilian monastery:

> There time was divided between prayer, work, and the reading of Holy Scripture. They rose for the common Psalmody while it was still night and chanted the divine praises till the dawn; six times each day did they assemble in the church for prayer. Their work was field labour and farming—St. Gregory Nazianzen speaks of the ploughing and vine-dressing, the wood-drawing and stone-hewing, the planting and draining. The food and clothing, too, the housing and all the conditions of life, he describes as being coarse and rough and austere. The monastic virtues of obedience to the superior, of personal poverty, of self-denial, and the cultivation of the spiritual life and of personal religion, are insisted upon.[23]

AUGUSTINE (A.D. 354–430). Son of a pagan father and a Christian mother, Augustine when eighteen years of age happened upon a now lost book of Cicero called *Hortensius,*

[23] Palladius, *op. cit.*, pp. 528–529.

which inspired him to begin his lifelong search for truth. This quest led him to embrace successively Manicheism, the skepticism of the Academics, neo-Platonism and finally Christianity.

He seems not to have heard of Christian asceticism or of St. Anthony until he came under the spell of Bishop Ambrose of Milan, who was an admirer of the monastic ideal and whose own sister had become a nun. Then one day from the lips of a certain Ponticianus, a fellow-African, Augustine heard the story of Anthony and the movement he had founded. Anthony's capacity for self-discipline impressed the hitherto undisciplined Augustine. Shortly afterward Augustine heard from his garden the sing-song voice of a child saying, "Take and read." Interpreting this as a divine command, Augustine took up the Scriptures and read the passage on which his eyes first fell: "Not in reveling and drunkenness, not in debauchery and licentiousness, not in quarreling and jealousy. But put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh, to gratify its desires" (Rom. 13:136–14). This was the culminating moment in Augustine's conversion.

After his return to Africa, Augustine organized a monastery in his home town, Tagaste, and later moved it to Hippo where he became priest and eventually bishop. But Augustine's importance ranges far beyond the bishopric of Hippo. He serves as a bridge between the world of classical antiquity and the Middle Ages; moreover, his ideas have influenced not only medieval theologians, but also Protestant reformers as well as philosophers and theologians of the present day. Between Saint Paul and Luther, said Harnack, the church historian, there is none that can be measured with Augustine.

Augustine was the author of many books; the most famous and the one which furnishes us with a knowledge of Augustine's life and religious quest is the *Confessions.* This book has been called "a new departure in literature," and is what we should describe today as spiritual autobiography. As such it has inspired numerous later famous religious books, such as Pascal's *Pensees* and Tolstoy's *Confession,* to mention only two. The *Confessions* deal primarily with the

inner life of Augustine and describe the goals which moved him and the sources of power by which he lived. The theme of the *Confessions* and one of Augustine's greatest sayings appears as early as the second paragraph of the first chapter of the book: "For Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our hearts are restless, till they rest in Thee." The *Confessions* were completed in A.D. 400 and thus offer Augustine's mature reflections on the early period of his life that culminated in his conversion in A.D. 386 and baptism by Ambrose in Milan on April 25, 387.

The City of God (*De Civitate Dei*), Augustine's other equally famous book, took thirteen years to write (A.D. 413–426) and was completed when the author was seventy-two years old. Inspired by the sacking of Rome by the Goths under Alaric in A.D. 410, it attempted to explain the misfortunes besetting the Roman Empire in the West. Thus *The City of God* has justly been called the first philosophy of history. It was written both to explain the course of human history and to defend Christianity against the charge that it was responsible for the fall of the Roman Empire. The book assumes a double form: (1) a review of the history of the Roman Republic and Empire to show that Rome had suffered unhappy experiences under paganism as well as under Christianity; and (2) a philosophical defense of Christianity, involving a review of previous philosophies—Stoicism, Neo-Platonism, and Aristotelianism. The framework within which Augustine places his portrayal of his own unhappy times is a vast one, nothing less than the history of the cosmos, starting from the time of the angels and extending to the Last Judgment, the greatest canvas ever employed by any literary artist.

The use of the term "city" in the title of Augustine's great work may require brief explanation. As a Roman citizen Augustine was acquainted with the *civitas,* equivalent to the Greek *polis.* The *polis* of ancient times was much more than the modern municipality; it was more like a family or religious group, exhibiting a spirit of social solidarity much greater than that of contemporary political societies. Similarly, the responsibility of the citizen was more keenly felt.

The member of a city who offended the gods brought down upon the whole group the anger of the gods. It was natural for Augustine to think in such terms, and so he interpreted the fall of Rome in terms of the decay of the *civitas.*

Rome, the capital city of the Roman Empire, fell, but Augustine's imaginative comparison between the earthly and heavenly cities, with its teleological interpretation of history, survived and was destined to dominate the thought of Europe for a thousand years. It influenced the Emperor Charlemagne, who, it is said, enjoyed hearing serious books read aloud at dinner-time, and particularly enjoyed listening to the reading of the series of books, twenty-two in all, which constituted Augustine's *The City of God.* Perhaps Augustine's words strengthened this emperor's hope and resolve to build a Christian empire. *The City of God* also contributed to the great debate over church and state which continued through the Middle Ages and longer. Medieval Christians accepted as axiomatic Augustine's conception of an organically united church-state in which civil and religious authorities coöperated in a common cause. The only question was who should dominate, pope or emperor. The two cities, according to Augustine

> are mingled together from the beginning down to the end. Of these, the earthly one has made to herself of whom she would, either from any other quarter, or even from among men, false gods whom she might serve by sacrifice; but she which is heavenly, and is a pilgrim on the earth, does not make false gods, but is herself made by the true God, of whom she herself must be the true sacrifice. Yet both alike either enjoy temporal good things, or are afflicted with temporal evils, but with diverse faith, diverse hope, and diverse love, until they must be separated by the last judgment, and each must receive her own end, of which there is no end.[24]

Augustine's greatest purely doctrinal writing is *On the Trinity.*[25] Many of his later writings were produced in the

[24] Augustine, *The City of God,* trans. Marcus Dods (New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1948), II, 292.

[25] For an analysis of the argument, see Cyril C. Richardson, "The Enigma of the Trinity," in Roy W. Battenhouse (ed.), *A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1955), pp. 235–256.

heat of controversy, such as *Against Faustus,* one of his books against the Manicheans,[26] which are important not only for the light they throw upon this ancient rival of Christianity, but also for our understanding of Augustine's personal journey from Manicheism to Neo-Platonism, and finally to Christianity. The controversy over Pelagianism, with its denial of original sin and man's hereditary guilt, inspired many treatises in which Augustine developed his ideas of grace and predestination, concepts which had so much influence upon later Christian leaders like Calvin and the Jansenists. The Donatist controversy[27] occasioned two works, *On Baptism* and *On the Correction of the Donatists,* which develop the idea that the authority of the Church is the guarantee of the Christian faith, and that Apostolic Succession is the guarantee of the Church. In 426, only a few years before his death, Augustine wrote his *Retractiones,* which has special interest because it contains a review of his works with an indication of the areas in which his thought had changed.

St. Augustine is truly a very important figure in the history of the Church. As a philosopher and theologian he exerted an influence both during his lifetime and in succeeding centuries in a way rarely paralleled. This is not to say that later Christian thinkers have always agreed with Augustine.

Yet Augustine's writings remain among the dominant peaks in the range of Christian thought, so that no serious thinker can fail to reckon with them. In the medieval period St. Anselm and St. Thomas Aquinas directly depended upon him. In the Protestant Reformation Luther and Calvin reaffirmed Augustinian conceptions of God and of man's need for God's grace. Modern idealistic philosophy since Descartes has been indebted to aspects of Augustine's thought, while other sides of his doctrine have given support to such seminal thinkers as Pascal and Newman, and in our own day to Jacques Maritain, Reinhold Niebuhr, Paul Tillich, and Karl Barth. Whoever would

[26] Adherents of a strongly dualistic religious system originally founded by Mani (called Manes by Greeks and Romans), born in Babylonia about A.D. 215. Manicheism flourished in the ancient Mediterranean world from the third to the fifth centuries.

[27] Donatists were a sect of ancient Christianity rooted in controversies of the Carthaginian church about the surrender of Christian writings during the persecution under Diocletian in the late third century A.D.

know the structural ideas of the Christian tradition and Western philosophy which have shaped our minds for fifteen centuries must know Augustine.[28]

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

Edict of Toleration, A.D. 311[29]

[Issued from Nicomedia (Asia Minor) by Galerius, Constantine, and Licinius. Galerius died within a month. This edict did not result in the complete end of persecution, since Maximinus Daza, ruler of Egypt and Syria, refused to sign. The date of the edict was April 30, 311.]

Amongst our other measures for the advantage of the Empire, we have hitherto endeavored to bring all things into conformity with the ancient laws and public order of the Romans. We have been especially anxious that even the Christians, who have abandoned the religion of their ancestors, should return to reason. For they have fallen, we know not how, into such perversity and folly that, instead of adhering to those ancient institutions which possibly their own forefathers established, they have arbitrarily made laws of their own and collected together various peoples from various quarters.

After the publication, on our part, of an order commanding the Christians to return to the observance of the ancient customs, many of them, it is true, submitted in view of the danger, while many others suffered death. Nevertheless, since many of them have continued to persist in their opinions and we see that in the present situation they neither duly adore and venerate the gods nor yet worship the god of the Christians, we, with our wonted clemency, have judged it wise to extend a pardon even to these men and permit them once more to become Christians and re-establish their places of meeting; in such manner, however, that they shall in no way offend against good order. We propose to notify the magistrates in another mandate in regard to the course that they should pursue.

[28] Daniel D. Williams, "The Significance of St. Augustine Today," in R. W. Battenhouse (ed.), *A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1955), p. 4.

[29] J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History* (Boston and New York: Ginn and Co., 1904), I, 22–23.

Wherefore it should be the duty of the Christians, in view of our clemency, to pray to their god for our welfare, for that of the Empire, and for their own, so that the Empire may remain intact in all its parts, and that they themselves may live safely in their habitations.

Appendix B

The Edict of Milan, A.D. 313[30]

[This is not an actual edict, but a letter written to a prefect describing an agreement resulting from a meeting of Constantine and Licinius at Milan. This agreement did not guarantee toleration for Christians. It did not make Christianity the imperial religion. It did promise freedom of worship; it guaranteed legal equality with other religions; and it ordered the restoration of church property seized during the recent persecution.]

When we, Constantine and Licinius, Emperors, met at Milan in conference concerning the welfare and security of the realm, we decided that of the things that are of profit to all mankind, the worship of God ought rightly to be our first and chiefest care, and that it was right that Christians and all others should have freedom to follow the kind of religion they favored; so that the God who dwells in heaven might be propitious to us and to all under our rule. We therefore announce that, notwithstanding any provisions concerning the Christians in our former instructions, all who choose that religion are to be permitted to continue therein, without any let or hindrance, and are not to be in any way troubled or molested. Note that at the same time all others are to be allowed the free and unrestricted practice of their religions; for it accords with the good order of the realm and the peacefulness of our times that each should have freedom to worship God after his own choice; and we do not intend to detract from the honor due to any religion or its followers. Moreover, concerning the Christians, we before gave orders with respect to the places set apart for their worship. It is now our pleasure that all who have bought such places should restore them to the Christians, without any demand for payment. . . .

You are to use your utmost diligence in carrying out these orders on behalf of the Christians, that our command may be promptly obeyed, for the fulfilment of our gracious purpose in establishing public tranquillity. So shall that divine favor which we have already enjoyed, in affairs of the greatest moment, continue to grant us success, and thus secure the happiness of the realm.

[30] Henry Bettenson (ed.), *Documents of the Christian Church* (New York and London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1947), pp. 22–23.

Appendix C

The Nicene Creed

I

The Creed of Caesarea[31]

[This indefinitely worded creed was proposed for adoption by the council at Nicea by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, leader of the middle party. He said it had long been in use in his own church.]

We believe in one God, the Father All-sovereign, the maker of all things visible and invisible;

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, Son only-begotten, First-born of all creation, begotten of the Father before all the ages, through whom also all things were made; who was made flesh for our salvation and lived among men, and suffered, and rose again on the third day, and ascended to the Father, and shall come again in glory to judge the living and the dead;

We believe also in one Holy Spirit.

II

The Creed of Nicea, A.D. 325[32]

[Based upon the Creed of Caesarea, but made more explicit on issues of Arian controversy by additional words, printed here in italics. The key word is *homoousion* (of one substance), long used in West in its Latin form as a test of orthodoxy. This creed should not be confused with the Nicene Creed, a later formulation.]

We believe in one God the Father All-sovereign, maker of all things visible and invisible;

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, *begotten of the Father,* only-begotten, *that is, of the substance of the Father,* God of God, Light of Light, *true God of true God, begotten not made, of one substance with the Father,* through whom all things were made, *things in heaven and things on the earth;* who for us men and for our salvation *came down* and was made flesh, *and became man,* suffered, and rose on the third day, ascended into the heavens, is coming to judge living and dead.

And in the Holy Spirit.

And those that say 'There was when he was not,' and, 'Before he was begotten he was not,' and that, 'He came into being from what-

[31] Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church,* p. 35.
[32] Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church,* p. 36.

is-not,' or those that allege, that the Son of God is 'Of another substance or essence' or 'created,' or 'changeable' or 'alterable,' these the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes. [Italics represent additions to and alterations of the Creed of Caesarea.]

III

The "Nicene" Creed, Constantinople, A.D. 381[33]

[The Creed of Nicea, adopted in A.D. 325, failed to satisfy all parties. It said nothing, for example, about the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit. A more satisfactory wording of the creed came into use and by 451 was attributed to an Eastern synod meeting held in Constantinople under Theodosius in 381, which became known as the Second General Council of the Church. The exact origin of this creed is unknown, although it is very similar to the baptismal creed of Jerusalem, as reported by Cyril, bishop of that city, about 348.]

We believe in one God the Father All-sovereign, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, Begotten of the Father before all the ages, Light of Light, true God of true God, begotten not made, of one substance with the Father, through whom all things were made; who for us men and for our salvation came down from the heavens, and was made flesh of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, and became man, and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered and was buried, and rose again on the third day according to the Scriptures, and ascended into the heavens, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and cometh again with glory to judge living and dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end:

And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and the Life-giver, that proceedeth from the Father, who with Father and Son is worshiped together and glorified together, who spake through the prophets.

In one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church:

We acknowledge one baptism unto remission of sins. We look for a resurrection of the dead, and the life of the age to come.

Appendix D

The Definition of Chalcedon[34]

[This creed, based on a letter, usually called the "Tome" of Leo I, is considered by Greek, Latin, and Protestant churches to

[33] Bettenson, *Documents of the Christan Church*, p. 37.

[34] Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church*, pp. 72–73.

offer the orthodox solution of the Christological problem, affirming the doctrine of two natures in one person.]

Therefore, following the holy fathers, we all with one accord teach men to acknowledge one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, at once complete in Godhead and complete in manhood, truly God and truly man, consisting also of a reasonable soul and body; of one substance (*homoousios*) with the Father as regards his Godhead, and at the same time of one substance with us as regards his manhood; like us in all respects, apart from sin; as regards his Godhead, begotten of the Father before the ages, but yet as regards his manhood begotten, for us men and for our salvation, of Mary the Virgin, the God-bearer (*Theotokos*); one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-Begotten, recognized in two natures, without confusion, without change, without division, without separation; the distinction of natures being in no way annulled by the union, but rather the characteristics of each nature being preserved and coming together to form one person and subsistence (*hypostasis*), not as parted or separated into two persons, but one and the same Son and Only-begotten God the Word, Lord Jesus Christ; even as the prophets from earliest times spoke of him, and our Lord Jesus Christ himself taught us, and the creed of the Fathers has handed down to us.

Appendix E

The Edict of Valentinian III, A.D. 445[35]

[Valentinian III (Roman emperor of the West, 425–55) aided Leo I to establish ecclesiastical order by commanding all to obey the Bishop of Rome because the latter held the "primacy of Peter."]

We are convinced that the only defense for us and for our Empire is in the favor of the God of heaven: and in order to deserve this favor it is our first care to support the Christian faith and its venerable religion. Therefore, inasmuch as the pre-eminence of the Apostolic See is assured by the merit of St. Peter, the first of the bishops, by the leading position of the city of Rome and also by the authority of the holy Synod, let not presumption strive to attempt anything contrary to the authority of that See. For the peace of the churches will only then be everywhere preserved when the whole body acknowledge its ruler. Hitherto this has been observed without violation; but Hilary, Bishop of Arles, as we have learned from that report of that venerable man Leo, the pope of Rome, has with contumacious presumption ventured upon certain unlawful proceedings; and thus an abominable

[35] Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church*, pp. 32–33.

confusion has invaded the church beyond the Alps . . . By such presumptuous acts confidence in the Empire, and respect for our rule is destroyed. Therefore in the first place we put down so great a crime: and, beyond that, in order that no disturbance, however slight, may arise among the churches, and the discipline of religion may not appear to be impaired in any case whatever, we decree, by a perpetual edict, that nothing shall be attempted by the Gallican bishops, or by those of any other province, contrary to the ancient custom, without the authority of the venerable pope of the Eternal City. But whatsoever the authority of the Apostolic See has enacted, or shall enact, let that be held as law for all. So that if any bishop summoned before the pope of Rome shall neglect to attend, let him be compelled to appear by the governor of the province . . .

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. What changes took place in the status of Christians within the Roman world following the rise of Constantine to power? See Appendices A and B, as well as text.
2. Why did Constantine call the Nicene Council? Who came? What was the basic issue?
3. Compare the language of the Creed of Caesarea and the Creed of Nicea (Appendix C, I and II) and observe the nature of the modifications.
4. What compromise was reached at the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381? See wording of creed in Appendix C, III.
5. Why was the whole Nicene controversy important religiously?
6. What further aspect of the Christological problem was treated in the Creed of Chalcedon?
7. How, when, and why did such ecclesiastical offices originate as those of deacons, presbyters or elders, bishops, patriarchs, and pope?
8. How did Rome gain ascendancy in the West?
9. What stages in the development of monasticism are associated with the names of Anthony, Pachomius, and Basil?
10. Why is Augustine so important a figure in the history of Christian thought?

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Chapter 14

CHRISTIANITY DIVIDES INTO EAST AND WEST

DISINTEGRATION OF ROMAN EMPIRE. After a thousand years of Rome's existence as republic and empire, the Roman world collapsed. The turning point was reached around A.D. 500, but the actual disintegration of the empire took place over several centuries, the result of internal decay combined with external pressures. On the north and northeast, the pressure came from the so-called barbarian peoples of Europe. As early as A.D. 378 the Goths had defeated the Roman legions and killed the Emperor Valens in the Battle of Adrianople. The sack of Rome under Alaric was accomplished in A.D. 410. The conversion of Clovis, king of the Franks, in 496 was a major event in the history of Christianity, and it inaugurated a new era in which German rulers were to become the champions of Western faith. But, as if to offset this gain, the Persians soon would launch their military campaigns against the empire and would be succeeded in the seventh century by the Arabs, united for the first time in history by their new faith, Islam.

Constantinople, built by Constantine the Great on the site of ancient Byzantium and dedicated in A.D. 330, had become the new capital of the hard-pressed Roman Empire. In A.D. 395 the Emperor Theodosius officially divided the empire into two parts, one Western and Latin, the other Eastern (Byzantine) and Greek. Theoretically, these were still two parts of a single empire, but there were strong divisive forces at work. On the political level, the final division took place with the assumption by Charlemagne in A.D. 800 of the title of Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

The continuing social upheaval in the western Mediterranean, with its struggle for power between old Roman and

new Teutonic elements in the population, weakened the political authority of the West and strengthened the hands of the rulers of the East. Justinian I (483–565), Byzantine emperor from 527–565, came closer than any subsequent ruler to re-creating a united empire that effectively controlled the Mediterranean world.

No sooner had he become ruler than difficulties confronted Justinian from all quarters. First, there was a five-year war with the Persians which ended only when the Persian ruler died and his successor agreed upon a truce. Equally serious, political and social revolution threatened. Justinian's own life was endangered when rioting broke out in the hippodrome at Constantinople. A period of confusion and danger followed this episode, and the agitation of rival political groups caused Justinian seriously to consider abandoning his palace and kingdom. Two persons dissuaded him from this drastic action. One was his wife and queen, Theodora, who had before her marriage been a dancing girl and actress and knew something about the rough and tumble of life. The other was the brilliant Byzantine general, Belisarius, who led his veterans into the hippodrome and subdued the quarreling factions. The leaders of the unrest, two nephews of Anastasius I, Justinian's uncle and predecessor, whose throne he had usurped, were summarily executed.

Once the situation at home was stabilized, Justinian devoted himself to his consuming ambition to restore the Roman Empire, and with it the imperial office, to their former power and prestige. First, North Africa, then Italy, and then Spain (or more precisely the southeastern coast cities) were subdued and restored to the empire, largely as a result of effective leadership of Belisarius and another Byzantine general, Narses.

Political expansion was only one aspect of Justinian's program of restoration. Scholars received royal patronage and schools began to flourish again during this revival of learning. Justinian contributed much money, furthermore, to the building of churches, the most famous of them being

the Church of Saint Sophia in Constantinople. Another enduring achievement of the period was Justinian's revision of the *Corpus* of Roman law, a thorough re-examination and revision of Roman law. The *Corpus* included not only the code or the edicts of the emperors, the statutory law, but also the *Pandects,* or decisions of jurists, and also a brief statement of principles of Roman law, called the *Institutes.* The *Novellae,* or new laws, constituted a fourth section of the *Corpus,* added by Justinian to correct defects in existing law or to meet needs of a new day. The work of revision was done by a group of lawyers under the direction of Tribonian, whose legal skill attests to Justinian's ability to select outstanding public servants.

The Justinian Code contained religious as well as civil laws. One such law provided that anyone who did not believe in the Trinity should be put to death. Another levied the death penalty upon anyone who repeated baptism, a law aimed at Donatists but invoked many centuries later to punish the so-called Anabaptists at the time of the Protestant Reformation.

Byzantine Civilization. Constantine I thought of his eastern capital city as a New Rome and Justinian dreamed of restoring the Roman Empire in all its grandeur, but Constantinople actually became the heart of an Eastern and increasingly Oriental empire. The history of the Byzantine Empire contains much to repel the modern reader. Treason, intrigue, and violence appear to have been a common if not the usual method of accession to the throne. Rule was absolute and despotic in character. Justinian's reign was characterized by the most blatant caesaropapism, that is, control of the church by the emperor, and this tradition was perpetuated in the Eastern Empire, although it actually originated in the tradition of the early Roman Empire which exalted the Emperor as *pontifex maximus,* in addition to his other offices. And there was much that was tawdry and hollow in the New Rome.

Yet with all its seeming superficiality, Constantinople was not only the chief depository of Byzantine civilization, but

also, in effect, the custodian of cultural treasures which have contributed much to the development of Western civilization as we know it today. Hellenism, Christianity, and the East combined to create Byzantinism. Successor and heir to a classical civilization which might otherwise have disappeared without a trace, Byzantine civilization made an incalculable contribution to the Middle Ages, to the history of thought, and to the history of mankind.

> For over a thousand years, from the end of the fourth century to the middle of the fifteenth, the Byzantine Empire was the centre of a civilization equal to that of any age in brilliancy, and possibly the only real civilization which prevailed in Europe between the close of the fifth century and the beginning of the eleventh.[1]

Constantinople was the center and the finest flower of Byzantine civilization. The Byzantines called it "the city protected by God," or simply "the city" (*polis*). The modern Turks, in the fervor of nationalism, have changed the Greek name, Constantinople, to Istanbul, which, ironically, is equally Greek, being simply the Greek phrase, *eis ten polin*, used by Greek peasants when they were going "to the city" from the surrounding countryside.

In Constantinople is found the finest example of Byzantine architecture, the Church of St. Sophia, or, as it was originally named, the Church of the Hagia Sophia. The first Church of Hagia Sophia was built, some say, by Constantine the Great, or as others say, by Constantius in A.D. 360. The original, basilica-type church was consumed by flames in 404 and rebuilt by Theodosius II in 415, only to be destroyed again by fire in 532. The third church, which was of fireproof construction, was erected during the years 532–537 by Justinian I and planned by his architects, Anthemius of Tralles and Isodorus of Miletus.

The resources of the empire were drawn upon for the building of this great cathedral church, to the detriment in many cases of older pagan temples. Thus there may be seen today in this famous building eight beautiful monolithic

[1] *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge: University Press, 1924), I, 747.

porphyry columns said to have been quarried originally in upper Egypt, two of them previously used in the great Temple of Artemis in Ephesus whence they were brought to Constantinople. A large marble vessel, used to contain anointing oil, came from ancient Pergamum. The walls of the church were covered with choice marbles of different colors, while the great arches were decorated with gold mosaics. Each marble capital was uniquely carved. The dome of the church collapsed in 558 as the result of an earthquake and was rebuilt in the remarkable form which has survived. The nave of the church today is covered by a high central dome, 182 feet wide and 184 feet high, with a circle of forty arched windows at the base of the main dome which flood the sanctuary with light. The church thus provides an excellent example of light, and its symbolism, in architecture. "One would declare," the historian Procopius wrote, "that the place was not illuminated from outside by the sun, but that the radiance originated from within, such is the abundance of light which is shed about this shrine."[2]

HEIRS OF THE EASTERN TRADITION. The Eastern Orthodox churches represent the outcome of the slow process of religious division between East and West that accompanied the disintegration of the Roman Empire. The use of "orthodox" to designate the Eastern churches came into vogue at the time of the Iconoclastic controversy, which broke out in A.D. 726 when Emperor Leo III (717–740) forbade the use of images and pictures in Christian worship. Leo hoped this ban would make it easier for Jews and Muslims to become Christians, as well as encourage re-entry of some heretical Christian groups, but it was repudiated by the Roman church. The resultant cleavage between Rome and the Byzantine church was widened in the ninth century by the Photian controversy. The Byzantine Patriarch, Photius, challenged papal claims and among other things condemned the proposed Latin inclusion of the *filioque* clause in the Nicene

[2] K. J. Conant, "The Expression of Religion in Architecture," in A. E. Bailey (ed.), *The Arts and Religion* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1944), p. 79.

Creed.[3] It is, however, customary to date the final separation, or Schism, of the Eastern and Western churches from A.D. 1054, in connection with the controversy between Leo IX and the Patriarch Michael Cerularius. It is difficult to specify the immediate cause of the separation of these two great branches of Christianity. The deeper reasons are rooted in history and in certain intangible differences of spirit and attitude:

> The officially discussed points of dissension between the West and the East (in A.D. 1054) were of minor nature. They had gone back into the days of the patristic era: fasting on Saturday, celibacy of priests, separation of confirmation from baptism, the article of "filioque"; all these innovations of the Western church were frowned upon by the East, but would not have resulted in the final and conclusive division had it not been for some more relevant issues. The essential reasons behind the disruption were undefined, inarticulate, often intangible—and still they proved to be the ground on which the Eastern Church has grown into a unique historical form of Christianity.[4]

The process of division did not end with the Schism of the Church. Eastern Christianity itself continued to display decentralist tendencies. The Church of Constantinople (Byzantine) was a Greek-speaking church, but there were other nationality groups in the Eastern part of the Mediterranean world and other languages spoken besides Greek. To some of these peoples the Eastern Orthodox Church actually seemed too Western. Armenians, Syrians, Ethiopians, Egyptians (Copts) had their own languages and did not like the Greeks, their language, their empire, or their (Byzantine) church, and as a consequence formed their own national churches. Moreover, the Nestorians (Syrian Christians already expelled from the empire) were permitted to propagandize in Persia and eventually carried their version of Christianity as far as India and China. Ultimately, the Persian Nestorian church broke off relations with the Byzantine

[3] Literally, "and from the Son," inserted in the Western form of the Nicene Creed to affirm the belief in the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as well as from the Father.

[4] Joseph L. Hromadka, in E. Jurji (ed.), *The Great Religions of the Modern World* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1947), p. 289.

church in A.D. 498; the Syrian Jacobites followed its example in A.D. 580, the Copts in A.D. 580, and the Armenian church in A.D. 651.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF EASTERN ORTHODOXY. Eastern Orthodoxy survives today in three main groups of churches: Greek, Balkan, and Russian.[5] In these Orthodox churches there is no centralized authority, as in the Roman Catholic Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople is given a place of honor, but has no dogmatic or jurisdictional authority. As to doctrine, there is no one creedal statement which is accepted as authoritative. Instead, the Orthodox churches are bound together by a recognition of the seven ecumenical councils (325–787) and by the same seven sacraments.[6] The Orthodox churches differ from the Roman Catholic Church in their rejection of the special commission to Peter as distinguished from other apostles and the theory of apostolic succession as that is interpreted by Rome. They also reject the belief that authority is centralized in one man, the Bishop of Rome, or any other individual or agency. Authority, rather, resides in the whole church. The Orthodox churches agree with the Roman Catholic Church in accepting seven sacraments, but with some minor differences; the sacraments are baptism by immersion; chrismation (confirmation); penance; eucharist, ordination; marriage; and extreme unction.

Whereas the essence of Protestantism lies in the experience of a direct relationship to God independent of all human merit, and whereas Roman Catholicism presents a legalistic view of the relationship to God as the achievement of an adequate degree of merit, the Orthodox churches represent a mystical conception of life as the acquisition of a new divine nature. Thus the Orthodox churches place strong emphasis upon the Incarnation of Christ and teach that the presence of this divine, regenerative life did not cease with the resurrection and ascension of Christ, but is still present

[5] For details see Matthew Spinka in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Vergilius Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945), pp. 240–241.

[6] Jurji, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

in the life of the church. The core of the Eastern churches' practical life is the Resurrection of the Incarnate Christ. This is the foundation both of the faith and of the liturgy.

ROMAN VERSUS TEUTON. During the centuries when Byzantine civilization was beginning its rise to heights unmatched elsewhere, Europe was still the home of barbarian tribes hardly touched as yet by the refinements of Mediterranean culture. Yet it was among these tribal peoples of Europe that Christianity was to have its greatest success. The word "barbarian" was of course an epithet used within the fast-decaying classical civilization to describe the newcomers pressing upon the boundaries of the Graeco-Roman world. Some distinction should, however, be drawn between the German tribes of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. and the earlier invaders who first made contact with Mediterranean civilization and later became its defenders. Furthermore, it is important to recognize these migrations for what they were, the result of a social upheaval caused by rapidly changing conditions in two areas especially, one along the western end of the Baltic Sea and one in central Asia, with important consequences for the region we now call Europe. Historians have compared these centers of tribal movement "to ethnic volcanoes whose periodic outbursts caused disturbances from time to time affecting all the peoples who dwelt between them and the Mediterranean lands."[7]

The struggle between Roman and Teuton was prolonged for centuries. The Romans resisted the advance of these uncivilized peoples by fortifying the entire northern frontier along the line of the Rhine and Danube rivers, filling in the gaps with a series of walls. Garrisons were established and colonies of retired veterans were settled along this line. As it turned out, this boundary became as much a bridge as a barrier, and in fact became a point of contact between Roman and Teuton. Barbarian tribes came to know something about the Roman way of life. Traders and govern-

[7] G. C. Sellery and A. C. Krey, *Medieval Foundations of Western Civilization* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1929), p. 5

ment officials were the main links in this exchange. From time to time Rome made alliances with one or another of the tribes against the rest. Occasionally, permission was granted small tribes to settle down inside the boundary line and cultivate the land, until eventually by A.D. 400 a belt of land fifty to one hundred miles wide all along the boundary was occupied by a large number of such settlements. By the end of the fourth century A.D. the Balkans and eastern Gaul were primarily German. Moreover, it became the practice to hire individuals and eventually whole tribes to serve in the Roman army. Germans came to hold high military as well as important political office in the empire. Nor was this increasing contact a one-way process, by any means. Romans, too, borrowed certain Teutonic ways, even aping such German customs as wearing fur coats, letting the hair grow long, and substituting trousers for togas.

The impact of Roman civilization upon the barbarian peoples can be seen in the languages used today by peoples south of the Rhine—French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese—all of which are vernacular developments from Latin. Religiously, the newcomers were quick to accept Christianity. Indeed, it can be said that Christianity met with a quicker and more enthusiastic response from the members of these tribal kingdoms than it had from the Roman Empire. By chance, however, it was the Arian version of Christianity which first reached the barbarian tribes. Legend has it that Ulfilas (*c.* 311–380) first brought Christianity to the Teutonic people. Born among the Goths, he seems to have been in Constantinople as a young man and there to have been converted to Arian Christianity. About 341 he was consecrated "Bishop of the Christians in Gothia" by Eusebius, the Arian Christian leader of Nicomedia, and began his missonary activity north of the Danube. Eventually, because of persecution, he requested and received permission to take his followers with him into Roman territory south of the Danube. Gibbon says that "the name of Moses was applied to this spiritual guide who conducted his people through the deep

waters of the Danube to the Land of Promise."[8] Partly as a result of Ulfilas' missionary labors, at any rate, the Goths became and long remained Arian Christians. Ulfilas translated the Bible as an instrument for his Christian teaching, and fragments of this Gothic translation survive to the present day. Ulfilas gave the Gothic language its first written expression; as a matter of fact, he had to invent the very alphabet he used. Christianity spread rapidly among the Goths, and from one of their branches, the Visigoths, it was communicated to other tribal kingdoms, including the Ostrogoths and the Vandals. When these people settled in the Roman Empire, they had already become Christians of the Arian type. It was not until the sixth century A.D. that Teutonic Christians adopted the Roman version of Christianity.

MONASTICISM IN THE WEST. The *New York Times* for Wednesday, June 11, 1958, reported the celebration in Paris of the 1400th anniversary of the founding of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, commenting that this "Left Bank village of Paris intellectuals is clustered around a former Benedictine abbey dating back to the time of the Merovingian kings at the dawn of the Middle Ages," an interesting allusion to the role played by the Benedictine monks and their abbeys in the Christianizing and civilizing of Europe during the early Middle Ages.

The founder of the Benedictine type of monasticism and the "father" of Western monasticism as a whole was Benedict of Nursia (A.D. 480–543). The Benedictine Rule which he compiled has been called "perhaps the most important historical fact in the whole Middle Ages."[9] Benedict was not the first to introduce monasticism to the West, nor was he the first to compose a rule; yet Benedict remains the leading figure of Western monasticism. After earlier experiments in the hermitic and monastic life, in A.D. 529 Benedict established his now famous monastery at Monte Cassino, on the main road today between Naples and Rome, and here sub-

[8] *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York: Modern Library, Inc.) Giant Edition, II, 19.

[9] Quoted by G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion* (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1929), I, 217–218.

sequently he compiled the Benedictine Rule. Benedict had no way of foreseeing the momentous importance of the Rule which he devised. His purpose was to provide a workable basis for the monastery under his supervision at Monte Cassino. He did, of course, have the benefit of acquaintance with earlier forms of monastic life and with earlier Rules, such as the Rule of Basil, and, no doubt, the still earlier Pachomian Rule. Nevertheless, there is much in the Benedictine Rule which reflects the personal experience of Benedict as an ascetic and later a director of monks pursuing together the monastic life.[10] The requirement that monks stay upon their own premises instead of wandering is a case in point. From his own earlier experience Benedict was painfully aware of the problem created by unruly and unrestricted monks who lived under no Rule but their own. Again, Benedict's warning about "much speaking" comes from one who by long training knew how to distinguish between sham and reality in the religious life. In Benedict's own words, "we should realize too, that we are not heard for our much speaking, but for the purity and the contrition of our hearts. So when we pray, our prayer should be simple and brief, unless we are moved to speak by the inspiration of the spirit."[11] Benedict showed himself to be a wise administrator when he recognized that the counsel of the younger as well as of the older members of the community should be heard:

> Whenever important matters come up in the monastery, the abbot should call together the whole congregation (that is, all the monks), and tell them what is under consideration. After hearing the advice of the brothers, he should reflect upon it and then do what seems best to him. We advise the calling of the whole congregation, because the Lord often reveals what is best to one of the younger brothers.[12]

The peculiarly Roman quality of moderation and reasonableness appears again and again in the Rule of Benedict. Take,

[10] See Appendix A for characteristic emphases of Benedict's Rule.

[11] The Rule of St. Benedict, chap. xx, quoted in O. J. Thatcher and E. H. McNeal, *A Source Book for Mediaeval History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), p. 453.

[12] The Rule of St. Benedict, chap. iii, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

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Chapter 3. *Taking counsel with the brethren.* Whenever important matters come up in the monastery, the abbot should call together the whole congregation (that is, all the monks), and tell them what is under consideration. After hearing the advice of the brothers, he should reflect upon it and then do what seems best to him. We advise the calling of the whole congregation, because the Lord often reveals what is best to one of the younger brothers. But let the brethren give their advice with all humility, and not defend their opinions too boldly; rather let them leave it to the decision of the abbot, and all obey him. But while the disciples ought to obey the master, he on his part ought to manage all things justly and wisely. Let everyone in the monastery obey the rule in all things, and let no one depart from it to follow the desires of his own heart. Let no one of the brethren presume to dispute the authority of the abbot, either within or without the monastery; if anyone does so, let him be sub-

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[12] The Rule of St. Benedict, chap. iii, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

for example, chapter 68 of the Rule, entitled "Impossible Commands":

> If a brother is commanded by his superior to do difficult or impossible things, he shall receive the command humbly and do his best to obey it; and if he finds it beyond human strength, he shall explain to the one in authority why it cannot be done, but he shall do this humbly and at an opportune time, not boldly as if resisting or contradicting his authority. But if after this explanation the superior still persists in his demands, he shall do his best to carry them out, believing that they are meant for his own good, and relying upon the aid of God, to whom all things are possible.[13]

The Benedictine monastery displayed the Roman genius for organization. At the head was the abbot, whose authority was supreme, but who was required to consult the members on all matters concerning the welfare of the community as a whole. Particular care was taken to insure that only those should be admitted who seemed suited to the monastic calling. The novice was instructed and tested for a full year before taking his final vows. Worship was the primary obligation of the monk, but nearly as much importance was attached to work, including a requirement of manual labor in the fields. "Idleness is enemy of the soul," states the Rule. Scholarship was given nearly equal importance, with a requirement of about three hours' reading a day, special books being assigned during the Lenten period. In the Benedictine monasteries teaching and the copying of textbooks came to be recognized forms of labor. Benedict had no idea of training his monks to become professional scholars, and some of his monks could not even read. Nevertheless, every Benedictine monastery became eventually not only a center of agriculture and industry, but also an educational center with a library and a school.

Western monasticism, under the direction of its great leaders—Benedict, Cassiodorus, and later, Gregory I—developed a very different character from that of the East. It abandoned the ideal of the solitary life and isolated communities and kept closer to the world of everyday affairs.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 482–483.

Although monks in the West demonstrated by the quality of their lives the primacy of spiritual values—values which must have seemed strangely passive when compared with the secular values of the aggressive and warlike world of the early Middle Ages—nevertheless, these monks proved their social usefulness. The daily manual labor enjoined in the Benedictine Rule had a spiritual motivation; yet it had valuable social by-products, such as the drainage of swamps and the clearing of forests. So, too, the laborious copying of manuscripts resulted in the preservation for posterity of the cultural tradition of the ancient past. Monasteries became the schools whereby civilization was imparted to the northern peoples.

In addition, monasticism of the Benedictine type has conferred upon the West certain intangible benefits, the importance of which can hardly be overstated. One of these is the dignifying of labor. Classical civilization rested upon a foundation of slave labor; manual labor, consequently, was considered beneath the dignity of the educated man, an idea which still survives in some parts of the world. That Western civilization has become increasingly free of this bias is a gift of Saint Benedict and his Rule.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

The Rule of Saint Benedict (in part)[14]

[Benedict of Nursia (*c.* 480–543) compiled this Rule for the monastery which he founded at Monte Cassino, but it became the chief rule of Western monasticism as a whole. The complete Rule includes seventy-three chapters (with a Prologue).]

Chapter 2. *The qualities necessary for an abbot.* The abbot who is worthy to rule over a monastery ought always to bear in mind by what

[14] O. J. Thatcher and E. H. McNeal, *A Source Book for Mediaeval History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), pp. 435 ff.

name he is called and to justify by his life his title of superior. For he represents Christ in the monastery, receiving his name from the saying of the apostle: "Ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father" (Rom. 8:15). Therefore the abbot should not teach or command anything contrary to the precepts of the Lord, but his commands and his teachings should be in accord with divine justice. He should always bear in mind that both his teaching and the obedience of his disciples will be inquired into on the dread day of judgment. For the abbot should know that the shepherd will have to bear the blame if the Master finds anything wrong with the flock. Only in case the shepherd has displayed all diligence and care in correcting the fault of a restive and disobedient flock will he be freed from blame at the judgment of God, and be able to say to the Lord in the words of the prophet: "I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart; I have declared thy faithfulness and thy salvation" (Ps. 40:10); but "they despising have scorned me" (Ezek. 20:27). Then shall the punishment fall upon the flock who scorned his care and it shall be the punishment of death. The abbot ought to follow two methods in governing his disciples: teaching the commandments of the Lord to the apt disciples by his words, and to the obdurate and the simple by his deeds. . . . Let there be no respect of persons in the monastery. Let the abbot not love one more than another, unless it be one who excels in good works and in obedience. The freeman is not to be preferred to the one who comes into the monastery out of servitude, unless there be some other good reason. But if it seems right and fitting to the abbot, let him show preference to anyone of any rank whatsoever; otherwise let them keep their own places. For whether slave or free, we are all one in Christ (Gal. 3:28) and bear the same yoke of servitude to the one Lord, for there is no respect of persons with God (Rom. 2:11).

Chapter 3. *Taking counsel with the brethren.* Whenever important matters come up in the monastery, the abbot should call together the whole congregation (that is, all the monks), and tell them what is under consideration. After hearing the advice of the brothers, he should reflect upon it and then do what seems best to him. We advise the calling of the whole congregation, because the Lord often reveals what is best to one of the younger brothers. But let the brethren give their advice with all humility, and not defend their opinions too boldly; rather let them leave it to the decision of the abbot, and all obey him. But while the disciples ought to obey the master, he on his part ought to manage all things justly and wisely. Let everyone in the monastery obey the rule in all things, and let no one depart from it to follow the desires of his own heart. Let no one of the brethren presume to dispute the authority of the abbot, either within or without the monastery; if anyone does so, let him be sub-

jected to the discipline prescribed in the rule. But the abbot should do all things in the fear of the Lord, knowing that he must surely render account to God, the righteous judge, for all his decisions. If matters of minor importance are to be considered, concerning the welfare of the monastery, let the abbot take counsel with the older brethren, as it is written: "Do all things with counsel, and after it is done thou wilt not repent" (Ecclesiasticus 32:24).

Chapter 5. *Obedience.* The first grade of humility is obedience without delay, which is becoming to those who hold nothing dearer than Christ. So, when one of the monks receives a command from a superior, he should obey it immediately, as if it came from God himself, being impelled thereto by the holy service he has professed and by the fear of hell and the desire of eternal life. Of such the Lord says: "As soon as he heard of me, he obeyed me" (Ps. 17:44); and again to the apostles, "He that heareth you, heareth me" (Luke 10:16). Such disciples, when they are commanded, immediately abandon their own business and their own plans, leaving undone what they were at work upon. With ready hands and willing feet they hasten to obey the commands of their superior, their act following on the heels of his command, and both the order and the fulfilment occurring, as it were, in the same moment of time—such promptness does the fear of the Lord inspire.

Chapter 6. *Silence.* Let us do as the prophet says: "I said, I will take heed to my ways that I sin not with my tongue; I will keep my tongue with a bridle. I was dumb with silence, I held my peace even from good" (Ps. 39:1, 2). This is the meaning of the prophet: if it is right to keep silence even from good, how much more ought we to refrain from speaking evil, because of the punishment for sin. Therefore, although it may be permitted to the tried disciples to indulge in holy and edifying discourse, even this should be done rarely, as it is written: "In a multitude of words there wanteth not sin" (Prov. 10:19), and again: "Death and life are in the power of the tongue" (Prov. 18:21). For it is the business of the master to speak and instruct, and that of the disciples to hearken and be silent. And if the disciple must ask anything of his superior, let him ask it reverently and humbly, lest he seem to speak more than is becoming. Filthy and foolish talking and jesting we condemn utterly, and forbid the disciple ever to open his mouth to utter such words.

Chapter 16. *The order of divine worship during the day.* The prophet says: "Seven times a day do I praise thee" (Ps. 119:164); and we observe this sacred number in the seven services of the day; that is, matins, prime, terce, sext, nones, vespers, and completorium; for the hours of the daytime are plainly intended here, since the same prophet provides for the nocturnal vigils, when he says in another place: "At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto thee" (Ps. 119:62).

We should therefore praise the Creator for his righteous judgments at the aforesaid times: matins, prime, terce, sext, nones, vespers, and completorium; and at night we should rise to give thanks unto Him.[15]

Chapter 20. *The reverence to be shown in prayer.* When we have any request to make of powerful persons, we proffer it humbly and reverently; with how much greater humility and devotion, then, should we offer our supplications unto God, the Lord of all. We should realize, too, that we are not heard for our much speaking, but for the purity and the contrition of our hearts. So when we pray, our prayer should be simple and brief, unless we are moved to speak by the inspiration of the spirit. The prayer offered before the congregation also should be brief, and all the brothers should rise at the signal of the superior.

Chapter 22. *How the monks should sleep.* The monks shall sleep separately in individual beds, and the abbot shall assign them their beds according to their conduct. If possible all the monks shall sleep in the same dormitory, but if their number is too large to admit of this, they are to be divided into tens or twenties and placed under the control of some of the older monks. A candle shall be kept burning in the dormitory all night until daybreak. The monks shall go to bed clothed and girt with girdles and cords, but shall not have their knives at their sides, lest in their dreams they injure one of the sleepers. They should be always in readiness, rising immediately upon the signal and hastening to the service, but appearing there gravely and modestly. The beds of the younger brothers should not be placed together, but should be scattered among those of the older monks. When the brothers arise they should gently exhort one another to hasten to the service, so that the sleepy ones may have no excuse for coming late.

[15] There were eight services to be held every day. The night service was called vigils and was held some time between midnight and early dawn, perhaps as early as 2 A.M. in summer, and as late as 4 or 5 in winter. The first service of the day was called matins. It followed vigils after a short interval. It was supposed to begin about daybreak, which is also an indefinite expression and not a clearly fixed moment. The service of prime began with the first period of the day, terce with the third, sext with the sixth, and nones with the ninth. Vespers, as its name indicates, began toward evening. Completorium, or compline, was the last service of the day and took place just before the monks went to bed.

These designations of time are necessarily very inaccurate and indefinite. Beginning with sunrise the day was divided into twelve equal periods which were numbered from one to twelve. Beginning with sunset the night was divided in the same way. The day periods would, of course, be much longer in summer than in winter. As their methods of measuring time were primitive and inaccurate we must not suppose that the services took place exactly and regularly at the same hour every day.

Chapter 23. *The excommunication for lighter sins.* If any brother shows himself stubborn, disobedient, proud, or complaining, or refuses to obey the rule or to hearken to his elders, let him be admonished in private once or twice by his elders, as God commands. If he does not mend his ways let him be reprimanded publicly before all. But, if, knowing the penalty to which he is liable, he still refuses to conform, let him be excommunicated (that is, cut off from the society of the other monks), and if he remains incorrigible let him suffer bodily punishment.

Chapter 33. *Monks should not have personal property.* The sin of owning private property should be entirely eradicated from the monastery. No one shall presume to give or receive anything except by the order of the abbot; no one shall possess anything of his own, books, paper, pens, or anything else; for monks are not to own even their own bodies and wills to be used at their own desire, but are to look to the father (abbot) of the monastery for everything. So they shall have nothing that has not been given or allowed to them by the abbot; all things are to be had in common according to the command of the Scriptures, and no one shall consider anything as his own property. If anyone has been found guilty of this most grievous sin, he shall be admonished for the first and second offence, and then if he does not mend his ways he shall be punished.

Chapter 34. *All the brothers are to be treated equally.* It is written: "Distribution was made unto every man as he had need" (Acts 4:35). This does not mean that there should be respect of persons, but rather considerations for infirmities. The one who has less need should give thanks to God and not be envious; the one who has greater need should be humbled because of his infirmity, and not puffed up by the greater consideration shown him. Thus all members of the congregation shall dwell together in peace. Above all let there be no complaint about anything, either in word or manner, and if anyone is guilty of this let him be strictly disciplined.

Chapter 48. *The daily labor of the monks.* Idleness is the great enemy of the soul, therefore the monks should always be occupied, either in manual labor or in holy reading. The hours for these occupations should be arranged according to the seasons, as follows: From Easter to the first of October, the monks shall go to work at the first hour and labor until the fourth hour, and the time from the fourth to the sixth hour shall be spent in reading. After dinner, which comes at the sixth hour, they shall lie down and rest in silence; but anyone who wishes may read, if he does it so as not to disturb anyone else. Nones shall be observed a little earlier, about the middle of the eighth hour, and the monks shall go back to work, laboring until vespers. But if the conditions of the locality or the needs of the monastery, such as may occur at harvest time, should make it neces-

sary to labor longer hours, they shall not feel themselves ill-used, for true monks should live by the labor of their own hands, as did the apostles and the holy fathers. But the weakness of human nature must be taken into account in making these arrangements. From the first of October to the beginning of Lent, the monks shall have until the full second hour for reading, at which hour the service of terce shall be held. After terce, they shall work at their respective tasks until the ninth hour. When the ninth hour sounds they shall cease from labor and be ready for the service at the second bell. After dinner they shall spend the time in reading the lessons and the psalms. During Lent the time from daybreak to the third hour shall be devoted to reading, and then they shall work at their appointed tasks until the tenth hour. At the beginning of Lent each of the monks shall be given a book from the library of the monastery which he shall read entirely through. One or two of the older monks shall be appointed to go about through the monastery during the hours set apart for reading, to see that none of the monks are idling away the time, instead of reading, and so not only wasting their own time but perhaps disturbing others as well. Anyone found doing this shall be rebuked for the first or second offence, and after that he shall be severely punished, that he may serve as a warning and an example to others. Moreover, the brothers are not to meet together at unseasonable hours. Sunday is to be spent by all the brothers in holy reading, except by such as have regular duties assigned to them for that day. And if any brother is negligent or lazy, refusing or being unable profitably to read or meditate at the time assigned for that, let him be made to work, so that he shall at any rate not be idle. The abbot shall have consideration for the weak and the sick, giving them tasks suited to their strength, so that they may neither be idle nor yet be distressed by too heavy labor.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. What were the basic causes of the disintegration of the Roman Empire?
2. To what did Justinian give attention in his attempt to restore the Roman Empire to its former greatness?
3. What is caesaropapism and what was its effect in the Eastern Church?
4. What characteristics of Byzantine architecture are well exhibited in the Church of Saint Sophia?

5. What factors were involved in the gradually widening separation between the Eastern and Western churches?
6. Enumerate and explain briefly some of the distinctive features of the Eastern Orthodox churches today.
7. Illustrate the effects of the meeting of Roman with Teuton.
8. Why call Ulfilas the Moses of the Danube?
9. For what reasons may Benedict be called the Father of Western monasticism?
10. Be able to show how the Rule of Saint Benedict reflects the personal experience of its compiler.
11. How did monasticism in the West differ from the earlier Eastern types of monasticism?
12. Examine the excerpts from the Benedictine Rule given in Appendix A for characteristic features of Benedictinism, especially the section on the daily labor of the monks.

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

BAILEY, A. E. (ed.). *The Arts and Religion.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1944. Chap. ii, "The Expression of Religion in Architecture," by K. J. Conant, contains on pp. 77–80 a concise account of Byzantine architecture with special reference to the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople.

BULGAKOV, SERGIUS. *The Orthodox Church.* London: The Centenary Press, 1935. D. A. Lowrie, the translator, calls this book "the most significant ever written to present the Eastern Orthodox Church to Western readers." See chap. i on "The Church," ii on "The Church as Tradition," iv on "The Unity of the Church," and xvii on "Orthodoxy and Other Christian Confessions."

COULTON, G. G. *Five Centuries of Religion.* Vol. I. Cambridge: University Press, 1923. See chap. xii on the life of St. Benedict and chap. xiii on the Rule.

DEANESLY, MARGARET. *A History of the Medieval Church, 590–1500.* London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1925. Chap. v deals with the "Relations of Eastern and Western Churches," including a discussion of the influence of Byzantine art on the West (pp. 68–74).

FERM, VERGILIUS (ed.). *Religion in the Twentieth Century.* New York: The Philosophical Library, 1948. Chap. xi contains an excellent discussion of "The Eastern Orthodox Church" by George Petrovich Fedotov.

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JURJI, E. J. (ed.). *The Great Religions of the Modern World.* Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1947. An interpretation of Eastern Orthodoxy by Joseph L. Hromadka will be found on pp. 284–306.

ZANKOV, STEFAN. *The Eastern Orthodox Church.* Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1929. After an introductory chapter, this author discusses the Creed, the Church, the Cult, Piety and Activity, and in the final chapter compares Orthodoxy with Roman Catholicism and Protestantism.

Chapter 15

THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

THE CONVERSION OF THE NORTH. Legend has it that, before he became pope, Gregory I (*c.* 590–604) once saw some handsome, blond English lads in the slave market of Rome. When told that they were "Angles," he quickly replied, "Not Angles, but angels." Whether this story be fact or fancy, it is true at least that Gregory took a special interest in the conversion of England and in A.D. 596 sent a Benedictine monk, Augustine by name, and a small number of other Benedictines to inaugurate a mission to England. Augustine and his little band of followers arrived in Kent, England, in 597 and were permitted by King Ethelbert to establish a mission center in Canterbury. The King turned over to them an already existing church building and the monks proceeded to build a monastery, the first of many Benedictine houses in England. Augustine became the first archbishop of Canterbury. Pope Gregory continued his support of the mission by sending additional monks and giving his own personal counsel. The diocesan system of the Roman Church, based upon the administrative organization of the Roman Empire, was introduced into England, and eventually an archbishopric was established at York as well as at Canterbury.

The Benedictines were not the first Christian missionaries to arrive in Britain. The British and the Irish churches had both been founded by Saint Patrick (d. 461), a Briton by birth. British Christianity had suffered severely from the Saxon invasion and Patrick had labored strenuously in Ireland to prepare missionaries for the reconversion of Britain. The Irish monk Saint Columba and his companions established a monastery on the island of Iona, off West Scotland, in A.D. 563, and missionaries from this base converted Scotland and then turned their eyes toward England. Thus, when Au-

gustine arrived with his Benedictine monks in the south, Celtic missionaries were moving down upon England from the north. These two branches of Christianity differed in important ways. Administratively, Celtic Christianity centered in the monasteries, which were patterned along the lines of the clan system and in which the office of abbot was hereditary. The Irish type of monasticism, moreover, derived from early Eastern monasticism, by way of southern Gaul, and did not observe the Benedictine Rule. Roman Christianity, on the other hand, had a highly centralized authority to which Western monasteries, in accordance with the Benedictine Rule, gave their obedience. There were other minor differences, among them the question of the proper date for the observance of Easter, but at the Synod of Whitby in A.D. 664 agreement on all matters was reached and from that time on England followed Roman Catholic procedures.

GREGORY I AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAPAL AUTHORITY. It is said that Gregory I would have liked to become a missionary himself, but he was destined to play a different role in history, that of pope turned ruler. Commonly known as Gregory the Great, Gregory I gave the papacy a position of strength in temporal as well as spiritual affairs. Gregory was well trained for his high office. Pope Benedict I in A.D. 578 appointed him as one of seven deacons whose duty it was to administer alms for the city of Rome, a task involving large responsibilities, because of the impoverished condition of the times. Then for six years beginning in 579, Gregory served Pope Pelagius as papal ambassador to the imperial court at Constantinople, where, only fifteen years after the death of Justinian, controversies both political and theological were rife. Gregory was recalled to Rome about 586 to serve as chief adviser to the pope, and in 590, when Pelagius died in a plague which ravaged Rome, he agreed reluctantly to accept election to the papal office.

The times demanded a strong leader and Gregory was the man. The imperial official representing the emperor in the West was the exarch at Ravenna, whose claim to jurisdiction over Rome had been formally recognized by Gregory. In re-

turn the exarch was responsible for defending the city of Rome. Yet when the Lombards threatened to attack, he was unable to give any assistance. The power of the Lombards—who were, incidentally, Arians—had long been increasing in Italy while the power of the emperor, with his seat in Constantinople, was decreasing. It was these circumstances that gave Gregory the opportunity to assume leadership in resisting the Lombards. He successfully defended the city of Rome, negotiated with the Lombards, and even concluded a peace treaty with them on his own authority. Rome remained unconquered while he was pope. In this and in other ways, Gregory established the political power of the papacy.

Another lasting achievement of Gregory the Great was his contribution to the doctrine of papal supremacy. Gregory insisted that "to all who know the gospel it is apparent that by the Lord's voice the care of the whole Church was committed to the holy Apostle and prince of all the Apostles, Peter."[1] When John, patriarch of Constantinople, described himself officially as "universal bishop," Gregory protested this claim and countered by assuming the title of "servant of the servants of God," a designation that came to be used by all of his successors.

Gregory also played a vital role in expanding the authority of the Church in the West. He had some success in exercising regulatory powers over the churches of Ravenna and Illyria. He gained the good will of the Lombards, who controlled most of Italy, and finally won them over from Arianism to the Roman Church. Gregory's efforts to exert authority in the Church of France were unsuccessful, but in Spain, where the Visigoth king had rejected Arianism in 387, he had greater success. The conversion of England by missionary monks sent out by Gregory, and eventually of Germany through the labors of an English monk, were important achievements.

EMPIRE AND PAPACY. The power of the Roman Church was consolidated by Gregory the Great, and the Church be-

[1] J. C. Ayer, *A Source Book for Ancient Church History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), pp. 592–95.

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE
HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY
IN
WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE
A.D. 500-1500
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400
FAROE IS.
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES
NORWAY
Viken
SCOTLAND
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
IRELAND
Dublin
Limerick
Waterford
Bangor
Aberdeen
Grampian Hills
IONA
Glasgow
Melrose
LINDISFARNE
Donegal
Candida Casa
GALLOWAY
STRATHCLYDE
NORTHUMBRIA
Kildare
Kildare
Tirlan
Milton
York
MERCIA
WALES
ENGLAND
EAST ANGLIA
WORCESTER
ESSEX
London
Canterbury
Norwich
Exeter
Winchester
KENT
THANET IS.
SCILLY IS.
ISLE OF WIGHT
FLANDERS
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Arras
Amiens
Peronne
Noyon
Rouen
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
Avranches
Paris
Chartres
Orleans
Loire
Nantes
Tours
Laon
Rheims
Metz
Treves
Liège
Aachen
Maastricht
Brussels
Ghent
Utrecht
Deventer
Münster
Rotterdam
Bremen
Verden
Hamburg
Schleswig
Oldenburg
Lübeck
Groningen
Mechlin
Cologne
Fritzlar
Frankfort
Mainz
Worms
Heidelberg
Eichstädt
Wurzburg
Regensburg
BAVARIA
THURINGIA
Fulda
Zeitz
Constance
Salzburg
Basel
Zurich
SWITZERLAND
Clairvaux
Fontaines
Luxeuil
Annegray
Dijon
Cluny
Lausanne
Macon
Lyons
Clermont
Angoulême
Bordeaux
FRANCE
AUVERGNE
BURGUNDY
PROVENCE
Grenoble
Aosta
Milan
Pavia
Parma
Bobbio
Genoa
Canossa
LOMBARDY
Bologna
Ferrara
Venice
Ravenna
Aquileia
Lucca
Pisa
Florence
TUSCANY
Siena
Assisi
Spoleto
Nursia
Rome
Terracina
Camaldoli
Ancona
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Palermo
Carthage
Tunis
Bugia
Algiers
Tangier
Ceuta
Strait of Gibraltar
MOROCCO
Fez
AFRICA
Seville
Córdoba
Granada
Alcalá
Toledo
Segovia
IBERIAN PENINSULA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
CASTILE
LEÓN
GALATIA
NAVARRE
ARAGON
CATALONIA
Urgel
Barcelona
Albi
Toulouse
Uzes
Avignon
Arles
Marseilles
PYRENEES
Garonne
Rhone
Saône
Seine
Rhine
Main
Weser
Elbe
Havelburg
Brandenburg
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Corvey
Paderborn
Merseburg
Erfurt
Zeitz
Osnabrück
Münster
Meuse
Moselle
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN

SWEDEN
FINLAND
Åbo
Upsala
BIRKA IS.
Sigtuna
Reval
ESTHONIA
Novgorod
Strangnäs
SÖDERMANLAND
VÄSTERGÖTLAND
Skara
LIVONIA
Pskov
Volga
BALTIC SEA
GOTTLAND
LATVIA
Riga
COURLAND
Dvina
Moscow
ZEMGALE
Lund
LITHUANIA
Smolensk
Vilna
RÜGEN
Lauenburg
Kolberg
POMERANIA
RUSSIA
Kulm
Stettin
Gniezno
MAZOWIA
Bug
Poznan
Vistula
Oder
Don
ANY
POLAND.
Meissen
SILESIA
Breslau
Kiev
Dnieper
Cracow
Prague
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
UKRAINE
CARPATHIAN MTS.
Passau
Danube
Neutra
Gran
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
CRIMEA
CARINTHIA
PANNONIA
L. Balaton
Kalocsa
TRANSYLVANIA
SLAVONIA
ILLYRICUM
THE
CARNIOLA
Sirmium
(WALLACHIA)
CROATIA
Save
Danube
BLACK SEA
(EUXINE)
Nona
BOSNIA
SERBIA
BALKANS
Spalato
DALMATIA
ADRIATIC SEA
BULGARIA
Adrianople
Hum
MONTE-NEGRO
Antivari
Constantinople
Chalcedon
Sea of Marmora
Monte Cassino
ALBANIA
BALKAN PENINSULA
Salonika
MACEDONIA
Nicaea
GALATIA
Beneventum
Naples
EPIRUS
PHRYGIA
Siso
Antioch
SICILY
LEBANON
SYRIA
CRETE
MALTA
EAN SEA

came one of two great institutions of the Middle Ages. The other was the Holy Roman Empire, sometimes described as "neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire." At times, these two institutions helped each other; at other times, they engaged in deadly conflict. The danger in the situation was that one of these forces might succeed in crushing the other; such a total, despotic power in Europe might have resulted in stagnation like that which ultimately did develop in the East under Byzantine rule. Fortunately, the medieval struggle between church and state resulted in a balance of power rather than the victory of one over the other. As a result the Western pattern of life has been variety in unity, not uniformity.

In the beginning empire and papacy had helped each other. The crowning of Charlemagne by Pope Leo III on Christmas Day, A.D. 800, as Emperor of the Romans was perhaps the high water mark of this cooperation.[2] Although we are not sure of the motives of these protagonists, it does seem clear that the crowning enhanced Charlemagne's authority by transferring to him the great prestige of the Church. That this was deemed important by the emperors may be illustrated by the fact that a century and a half later the German ruler Otto the Great found it worth while to go to Rome to be crowned by the pope, when he attempted to revive the Roman Empire. Whether the Empire any longer was a fact or had become a convenient fiction, it is clear that the imperial symbolism had an important part in the stabilizing and unifying of Europe. England never belonged to the Holy Roman Empire, and France only for a time, but the symbolism of empire did make a contribution to the unification of Europe. The Church helped the Empire in other ways, too. Monks and missionaries taught its peoples a single faith, using a single language. Monasteries, places of refuge from an insecure world that also soon became centers of learning, contributed to the development of an ordered life.

But the Empire helped the Papacy, too, as when Pepin the Short (*c.* 714–768), son of Charles Martel and father of

[2] See Appendix A.

Charlemagne, seized Ravenna and other cities from the Lombards and gave them to the pope. In the course of time there existed in every nation of Europe two forces, dwelling side by side, the civil and the religious, the latter looking to Rome for its support and guidance.

Unavoidably, conflicts arose between these powers. There was no clear line of division between the temporal and the spiritual. From the fourth century A.D. the Church received many bequests of land from the faithful. These extensive holdings were mostly in and around Rome, in central Italy and Sicily. These lands, together with the Exarchate of Ravenna and the five cities given the pope by Pepin the Short, provided the foundation of the so-called Papal States which continued to be ruled by the popes until 1870. Moreover, the church was the largest landowner throughout much of medieval Europe, as much as half of the land in France and Germany coming eventually into the possession of the Church. This had happened partly as a result of bequests, partly as a result of the work of the monks in their monasteries. Monks cleared and cultivated unused land, and so in the course of time, monastic establishments came to embrace vast tracts of land.

The Church of the Middle Ages had much to do with the shaping of feudal society and was in turn shaped by it. Monasteries, members of the higher clergy, and churches themselves owned much land under feudal tenure, the clergy assuming the role of feudal lords contrary to the Church's ban against their participating actively in warfare. The Church thus became deeply involved in the feudal system, with many bishops and abbots playing a role very similar to that of the lay lords. Under these conditions it became important for the king to be sure that bishops and abbots in control of church lands be appointed by himself in order to insure their loyalty. The feudal ceremony of lay investiture developed as a result. When there was a vacancy in an episcopal see the king or one of his powerful vassals took possession of the lands of the vacant see as a fief, or land held

in tenure. Then the king appointed a new bishop and *invested* him with the bishopric by giving him the episcopal staff and ring, symbols of the office. An ecclesiastical representative took part in the proceedings, but the obligation to the king was regarded as primary.

In Germany, as early as Otto the Great, bishops and abbots were appointed by the king and served both as lay rulers and religious officials. Thus there arose the anomalous situation in which the power of the emperor depended upon control of ecclesiastical appointments. There were even occasions when the kings or emperors tried to control the election of popes, in order to make secure their power of ecclesiastical appointment. This church-state struggle was to culminate in the investiture controversy.

This lay control of religious office soon led to grave evils such as simony, immorality and lax moral standards among the clergy, and the subordination of spiritual authority to political power. By simony we refer to the making of profit out of sacred things, or, more specifically, the buying and selling of ecclesiastical offices.[3] This practice led to a degradation of religious office from top to bottom. The bishops, having paid dearly for their office and its powers, collected from the priests by charging them fees for ordination. The priests compensated by charging the members of their flocks for ordinary religious rites.

Political control of church appointments inevitably lowered the moral standards of the clergy. In the ninth and tenth centuries kings and nobles often granted benefices (tenure of church lands) to their servants and then treated these estates as their own, or took for themselves the tithes accruing to the churches. The clergy were poorly trained and hastily ordained, possessing no proper understanding of their spiritual office. Many of them married or lived with concubines, in spite of ecclesiastical requirements of celibacy.

[3] The word "simony" is taken from the story of Simon Magus in the Book of Acts 8:9–24, where a magician is said to have offered money to the apostles Peter and John in return for the gift of the Holy Spirit.

Low moral standards were even more conspicuous among nobles who had been appointed bishops than among the parish priests. Unhappily for the church, these "prince-bishops," as they were called, were little concerned about either morality or spiritual affairs. As one candidly remarked, "as a bishop he was celibate, as a baron he was married and the father of a numerous family."[4] Worse still, such married bishops would, and did, attempt to pass on to their sons the lands of the church.

There were still other areas of conflict between church and state. One was the competition for jurisdiction between ecclesiastical courts and the civil courts. The question inevitably arose as to which cases should go before the state courts and which before the ecclesiastical. It was eventually agreed that cases relating to widows, orphans who were minors, and all marriage questions should be tried in ecclesiastical courts, but trouble arose when the Roman Church demanded that all cases involving priests should be tried only in ecclesiastical courts. The church jurisdiction over marriage cases led to serious conflicts with the state when royal marriages were involved. Thus when Philip Augustus attempted to divorce the Danish princess he had married, Innocent III placed all France under an interdict as a punishment. Since this deprived the faithful in France of all their customary religious rites and other benefits and consolations of religion, they were soon aroused against the king and he was forced to yield and take his wife back.

MEDIEVAL REFORMS: CLUNY. Creative religious life in the Middle Ages found its finest expression in a series of reform movements, of which we shall consider three, the Cluniac, the Gregorian, and the Cistercian. The Cluniac Reform began in eastern France at the Abbey of Cluny and was primarily an attempt to make the Church independent of its feudal bonds. Cluny had been founded in A.D. 910 in French Burgundy by Duke William I of Aquitaine. From the very

[4] R. H. Bainton, *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1952), p. 7.

beginning Cluny had an important advantage as a reform center, in that Duke William himself had no obligations to any feudal lord, and when he endowed the monastery he did not himself claim the right to appoint abbots. Odo, the second abbot of Cluny, obtained papal exemption from the authority of bishops, with the clear understanding that Cluny was to be subject only to the pope himself. These two stipulations made Cluny completely independent of the feudal system. Then in the eleventh century Cluny began to establish daughter houses responsible to the abbot of Cluny, eventually totaling nearly a thousand such houses, mostly in France, but also in Britain, Spain, Switzerland, and northern Italy.

Internally, the Cluniac order required a greater strictness in the observance of the Benedictine Rule than was customary among monastic orders of the period, although there was less emphasis upon manual labor and more upon worship. The liturgy was beautified; emphasis was placed upon learning as well as worship; schools were opened and scriptoria increased. Increased prestige brought fame and wealth to the order, both to the mother house and to the daughter houses. The Abbey Church of Cluny was the largest in the world. The influence of this reform movement was mainly felt within the monasteries, but not exclusively so. The monks exerted their influence wherever they could for religious independence of feudal ties and for the increased authority of the papacy.

The Gregorian Reform. The papacy itself now assumed the leadership of the reform movement in an attempt to free itself of imperial control. The Gregorian Reform that followed was essentially the extension of the Cluniac reform to the secular clergy. It reflected the strong sentiment among parish priests, cathedral canons, and bishops in favor of reforming the Church and freeing it from feudal ties.

Hildebrand, the future Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085), was the most important leader of this movement. Reared in Rome of an aristocratic family, educated partly in a Roman monastery where the influence of Cluny was felt, and later in

the Lateran palace close to the papacy, Hildebrand was in a good position to comprehend the conflicting currents which swirled about the Roman bishop and tugged against his proper exercise of the headship of the Church.

Hildebrand was closely associated with a series of reforming popes before he himself ascended the papal throne. While still a young Benedictine monk, Hildebrand had become Pope Gregory VI's chaplain and accompanied Gregory VI when the latter was deposed and exiled in Germany. Later Hildebrand had returned from Germany with the new pope, Leo IX, and became his chief adviser for temporal affairs, which included supervision of the papal lands (the Patrimony of Peter). In this office Hildebrand reclaimed extensive ecclesiastical lands that had been usurped by feudal overlords and recouped the papal finances. He also conducted a vigorous reform in the Roman monastery which had been put in his charge.

It was during this association with Pope Leo IX that Hildebrand came into his own. Leo IX was himself a strong advocate of reform. It was he who began the process by which the papal court was transformed from a purely local body of bishops, priests, and deacons of the Roman parishes into a provincial system patterned after that of the Roman Empire. He chose as cardinals men of European outlook, sympathetic to the reform movement, who acted as his official representatives, undertook various missions, and kept him in touch with significant developments.

The principal evils attacked by Leo IX and his advisers were simony, lay investiture, and the failure of the clergy to obey the rule of celibacy. It was to reform these evils that Hildebrand devoted his life and became the guiding genius of reform under several popes. Among the most important of these reforms must be counted the new system of papal election decreed by Nicholas II at the Lateran Council of April, 1059. Papal elections were no longer required to be held at Rome, if disorders in Rome made that inadvisable. The voting was to be by cardinals and the Pope did not have to be a Roman. The clergy and the Roman "people"

(nobility) were to be "consulted" purely as a formality, and the emperor was merely to confirm the election results. This was a revolutionary attempt to secure an independent papacy, and it soon brought the papacy into a fateful conflict with the Empire.

When Nicholas II died in 1061 Hildebrand used the new election law to place upon the papal throne a reform sympathizer, who assumed the name of Alexander II. For most of his reign, Alexander II had to suffer the rivalry of another pope, Cadulus, an Italian bishop appointed by the young Emperor Henry IV at the recommendation of his regency council, in response to pressures from the Roman nobles and Lombard bishops. In this struggle, which at times descended to Roman street fighting, Hildebrand was Alexander's right-hand man. Here and in other areas, too, the papacy made increasing use of political methods to extend its influence. A good example was the bestowing of the papal banner on William of Normandy during his invasion of England. A papal banner was similarly given to a factional leader in Milan whose victory would have guaranteed appointment of an archbishop sympathetic to the reform party and hostile to Henry IV. It was during the controversy over the archbishopric in Milan that Alexander II died and was succeeded by Hildebrand under the name of Gregory VII.

The election of the new pope took place with undue haste, opponents claimed. A well-organized mob seized Hildebrand even before the funeral of Alexander II had been completed in the Church of St. John the Lateran, and carried Hildebrand forcibly to St. Peter's where the cardinals hastily held an election, with the approval of bishops, abbots, monks, and lay people. Since Hildebrand at the time was only a deacon, his opponents called his election highly irregular. German bishops at the Synod of Worms in a letter to Gregory VII, in January, 1076, disputing later actions of Gregory, claimed that he had actually seized office and in a manner contrary to Nicholas II's election decree that he had himself supported. For, as they pointed out, it had provided that "none should ever be made Pope except by the election of

the cardinals, the approbation of the people and the consent and authorization of the king . . ."[5]

Gregory VII lost no time in asserting the authority of his office. In 1075 he set forth the principles of his papal policy in the *Dictatus Papae* stating unequivocally "that the Roman pontiff alone can with right be called universal," "that he alone can depose or reinstate bishops," "that it may be permitted him to depose Emperors," and "that he himself may be judged of no one."[6] Doubts have been expressed about the authenticity of the dictates. Whether or not they were written by Gregory VII, they do at least reflect his mind.

The issue was joined with Henry IV in a renewal of the dispute over the archbishopric of Milan, in the course of which Henry made common cause with the German bishops who at the Diet of Worms in January, 1076, drew up a manifesto condemning Gregory and rejecting his authority as pope.[7] Gregory replied in what has been called "the most famous of all mediaeval papal decrees," deposing Henry and excommunicating him, the first time that a king had been excommunicated since Theodosius in the fourth century A.D. In addition to excommunicating the emperor, Gregory also excommunicated the disloyal German and Italian bishops. Henry's first reaction was to condemn Gregory in as strong language as the pope's, but he found that his defenses at home were weakening. The German bishops were shaken by the decree of excommunication and the enemies of Henry in Germany were making the most of their opportunity. An assembly of German princes avowed that unless Henry obtained absolution by a year and a day from the date of the excommunication, they would choose another king. For this purpose a Diet was called to take place at Worms in February, 1077. This forced Henry's hand and he made the humiliating journey to Canossa in the Apennines of central Italy, where he stood in the snow barefoot for three days as

[5] Henry Bettenson (ed.), *Documents of the Christian Church* (New York and London: Oxford Univ. Press), p 145.

[6] See Appendix B for excerpts from the *Dictatus* of Gregory VII.

[7] See Appendix C.

a penitent seeking absolution from the pope. Gregory granted Henry absolution, "yet the event has always remained in men's recollection as the deepest humiliation of the medieval empire before the power of the church."[8]

The struggle between church and state ended in compromise, although not until after Gregory's death. So far as Henry IV and Gregory VII were concerned, the conflict continued to the very day of Gregory's death. At the end Henry felt strong enough to attack the Pope's own city, and Gregory died in exile in Salerno, May 25, 1085, his last words allegedly "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity; wherefore I die in exile," a variation upon Psalm 45:8.

Gregory VII is a controversial character in history. As Gibbon put it, he "may be adored or detested as the founder of the papal monarchy." Historian Arnold J. Toynbee claims that he "became intoxicated by his success in winning the independence of the church and was led to overreach himself and claim the imperial power itself for the church."[9] A Catholic historian gives a different verdict: "He did not seek to dominate secular princes, as is frequently, but falsely asserted; rather, he sought to free the church from their unwarranted usurpation, internecine strife and interference in matters ecclesiastical and primarily spiritual."[10] More objectively, perhaps, it can be said of Gregory's very real achievement in medieval life that he "hammered out the theory and to a degree the fact of the independence of what by now had become the papal church."[11]

ST. BERNARD AND THE CISTERCIAN REFORM. The Order of Cluny had been well-equipped to combat feudalism within the monastic system, and the Gregorian reform had extended the principles of Cluny to the world outside the monastery walls. But the Cluniac reform lacked the vigor to combat

[8] Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church*, (rev. ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), 210. See Appendix D for Gregory's account of this episode.

[9] Quoted in Winthrop S. Hudson, *The Story of the Christian Church* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1958), p. 34.

[10] Raphael M. Huber, in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Vergilius Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945), p. 313.

[11] Hudson, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

the new threat of urban and commercial civilization which had begun to flourish by the twelfth century. For two centuries, from 950 to 1150, Cluny and its daughter houses had been the strongest reforming force of medieval Europe. But at last, for reasons of internal decay as well as changes in the social environment, the order had declined. The defect of Cluny was that it had succumbed to its own popularity. Its reputation for piety had won it universal admiration and large endowments. Odilo (994–1048), the fifth abbot, described the increasing prosperity of the mother house and the accompanying emphasis upon the esthetic: "From wood it became marble." According to Peter the Venerable, abbot from 1122 to 1157, the Rule had been gravely relaxed: monks did not work with their hands, and did not abstain completely from "flesh-food," as required by the Rule. Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) lamented that "feudal Cluny was eclipsing the religious Cluny of former days . . . it had crystallized into an excessive conservatism; religious vigour was gradually deserting it."[12]

The Cistercian movement arose out of the discontent of a few monks at the great and widely respected monastery of Molesme in Burgundy. There is no reason to believe that the standards of religious life were any lower at Molesme than at the average monastery; it was just that a minority of monks were not satisfied with such "average" conditions. However, since most of the monks were bitterly opposed to reform, the only solution was for the reforming minority to leave Molesme and found a new house. To do so required the consent of their Abbot Robert, who not only approved but was willing to go with the dissenters. The new house was established at an uncultivated place in the woods, later named Citeaux, not far from Dijon. Upon complaint from the monks who had not gone out, Abbot Robert was compelled by the pope to return to Molesme. His place of leadership was taken by Alberic, who in 1100 received papal approval for the new house.

[12] G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion* (Cambridge: University Press, 1929), II, 104.

An Englishman, Stephen Harding, succeeded Alberic and it is from his abbacy, beginning in 1109, that the Cistercian order dates. He established the Cistercian order on a strongly Puritan note. There were to be no crosses of silver or gold, only painted wood. There was to be no ornate carving or stained glass in the churches. In domestic arrangements as well, simplicity was to be the keynote. A fundamental reform required the Cistercian monk to do the full quota of manual labor called for in the Benedictine Rule.

Stephen Harding was a good organizer, but he lacked the qualities which might have made the religious life at Citeaux attractive to potential recruits. In a short time the total number of monks had steadily dwindled and the future of the order was uncertain. This situation was dramatically changed, however, by the arrival of Bernard in the spring of the year 1112. Bernard brought with him four of his own brothers and twenty-five other recruits. From this time on Citeaux flourished. The number of monks increased so rapidly that within two years after Bernard's arrival, it was possible to send out three different groups to establish new centers. One of the newly established monasteries was Clairvaux, where Bernard himself became abbot. This monastery became his home for the rest of his life and from it his influence radiated in all directions. During Bernard's lifetime sixty-eight Cistercian houses were founded from Clairvaux alone. The total number of Cistercian abbeys numbered 350 before Bernard's death. Within fifty years after his death there were 530 Cistercian abbeys, not to mention smaller establishments. Gathered about Bernard at Clairvaux, which served the order as a seminary, there were at times as many as seven to eight hundred monks.

Bernard would have liked nothing better than to remain at Clairvaux and pursue the religious life there in the company of his fellow monks, but it was not to be. Even during those periods when Bernard could follow his heart's desire and remain at Clairvaux, he led an extremely busy life as attested by the writing of 350 sermons, about 500 letters known to come from his hand, and thirteen other prose writings.

The fame of his personal holiness, of his eloquent speech, and a reputation for miraculous cures spread far and wide, and he came to be the strongest religious influence in France and eventually in all Europe. This compelled him to participate in numerous controversies which led him far from Clairvaux. He led the struggle to seat Innocent II on the papal throne when division had arisen among the cardinals and each faction had elected a pope. However, once Innocent II's position had been securely established, Bernard freely criticized him and held him to the highest standards of papal leadership.

Posterity has been less sympathetic to other causes which Bernard successfully championed. It was Bernard who condemned Abelard for defending the role of logic in the development of theology. His passionate appeal to faith and the authority of the Church won the day over Abelard's appeal to reason. It was also Bernard who preached the Second Crusade, the results of which were hardly worthy of his hopes.

The meaning of the Cistercian reform cannot be understood in isolation from what was happening to monasticism as a whole during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The demand for monastic reform was in the air, and since for the Middle Ages religion was identified with monasticism, this implied a religious upheaval, a widespread call for religious revival. As many as five other monastic reforms had preceded Cistercianism in the eleventh century, and early in the twelfth came the Franciscan and Dominican movements, and others. "St. Bernard's [reform] was the last great attempt to bring Benedictinism back to the original Rule. St. Francis in the thirteenth century attempted to save monasticism by a frank repudiation of certain important Benedictine principles."[13] The monks of the Cistercian order strove harder to put reality into religion than any other monks of their time. It was an order in which the religious ideal was taken seriously, and for that reason it commanded the respect of

[13] Coulton, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

men outside the monastery walls and attracted many of them into the monastic life. But in addition to the challenge of a severe and simple way of life, there was something more; an experience of religious fulfilment, best exemplified in the life of St. Bernard himself, but known certainly to many of his followers.

The Cistercian reform was a gallant attempt to stem the tide of a new age of urbanism and commercialism. But it was bound to fail in the end because it attempted to deal with the new age and its problems of worldliness and luxury by a return to the old method of withdrawal from the world. This was the last resort by religious-minded men to the Benedictine Rule. The problems of the new age required a new remedy which was to be supplied by the mendicant orders, such as the Franciscans and the Dominicans.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

Pope Leo III Crowns Charlemagne, A.D. 800[14]

[According to Einhard, the Frankish historian (*c.* 770–840) who wrote *The Life of Charlemagne,* the crowning by Pope Leo III came as a surprise to Charlemagne, although this is hard to believe. At least, Charlemagne accepted the title and had his subjects take a new oath of loyalty to him as emperor.]

On the most holy day of the birth of our Lord, the king went to mass at St. Peter's, and as he knelt in prayer before the altar Pope Leo set a crown upon his head, while all the Roman populace cried aloud, "Long life and victory to the mighty Charles, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans, crowned of God!" After he had been thus acclaimed, the pope did homage to him, as had been the custom with the early rulers, and henceforth he dropped the title of Patrician and was called Emperor and Augustus.

[14] From the so-called *Annals of Einhard,* in James Harvey Robinson, *Readings in European History* (Boston and New York: Ginn and Co., 1904), I, 801.

Appendix B

The *Dictatus* of Gregory VII, A.D. 1075[15]

[The *Dictatus Papae* illustrates Gregory VII's concept of the papacy as a universal monarchy with authority to which all kings are subject in matters both temporal and spiritual. The complete document includes twenty eight affirmations, of which sixteen are given here.]

The Roman church was founded by God alone.

The Roman bishop alone is properly called universal.

He alone may depose bishops and reinstate them.

His legate, though of inferior grade, takes precedence, in a council, of all bishops and may render a decision of deposition against them.

He alone may use the insignia of empire.

The pope is the only person whose feet are kissed by all princes.

His title is unique in the world.

He may depose emperors.

No council may be regarded as a general one without his consent.

No book or chapter may be regarded as canonical without his authority.

A decree of his may be annulled by no one; he alone may annul the decrees of all.

He may be judged by no one.

No one shall dare to condemn one who appeals to the papal see.

The Roman church has never erred, nor ever, by the witness of Scripture, shall err to all eternity.

He may not be considered Catholic who does not agree with the Roman church.

The pope may absolve the subjects of the unjust from their allegiance.

Appendix C

Letter of the Diet of Worms Condemning Gregory VII[16]

[This edict of the Diet of Worms in 1076 reflects the views of bishops friendly to Henry IV in his struggle with Gregory VII. In

[15] James Harvey Robinson, *Readings in European History* (Boston and New York: Ginn and Co., 1904), I, 274–275.

[16] Henry Bettenson (ed.), *Documents of the Christian Church* (New York and London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1947), pp. 144–146.

Henry's eyes, at least, it meant the deposition of Gregory from his papal office.]

Although, when thou didst first seize the control of the church, It was clear to us how unlawful and wicked a thing thou hadst presumed to do contrary to right and justice with thy well-known arrogance; nevertheless we thought fit to draw a veil of indulgent silence over the evil beginnings of thine inauguration, hoping that these iniquitous preliminaries would be emended and cancelled by the integrity and diligence of the rest of thy reign. But now, as the lamentable condition of the whole church sadly proclaims, thou art consistently and pertinaciously faithful to thine evil beginnings, in the increasing iniquity of thine actions and decrees. . . . The flame of discord, which thou didst arouse with baneful factions in the Roman Church, thou hast spread with senseless fury throughout all the churches of Italy, Germany, Gaul and Spain. For to the utmost of thy power thou hast deprived the bishops of all the power, known to have been divinely given to them by the grace of the Holy Spirit, who operates above all in ordinations. Thou hast given all oversight over ecclesiastical matters to the passions of the mob. None is now acknowledged a bishop or a priest, unless by unworthy subservience he has obtained his office from the magnificence. Thou hast thrown into wretched confusion all the vigor of the apostolic institution and that perfect mutuality of the members of Christ, which the teacher of the gentiles so often commends and inculcates. Thus, because of thine ambitious decrees—with tears it must be said—the name of Christ has all but perished. Who is not astounded by thine unworthy conduct in arrogating to thyself a new and unlawful power in order to destroy the due rights of the whole brotherhood? For thou dost assert that, if the mere rumor of a sin committed by a member of our flocks reaches thee, none of us has henceforth any power to bind or loose him, but thou only or he whom thou shalt specially delegate for the purpose. Who, that is learned in the sacred scriptures, does not see that this decree exceeds all madness? Wherefore . . . we have decided, by common consent, to make known to thee that on which we have hitherto kept silence, namely why thou canst not now, nor ever couldst preside over the apostolic see. Thou didst bind thyself with a corporal oath in the time of Emperor Henry of blessed memory that never in the Emperor's lifetime, nor in that of his son, our present reigning and glorious King, wouldst thou thyself accept the papacy, or, as far as in thee lay, wouldst thou suffer another to accept it, without the consent and approval of the father, while he was alive, or of the son while he lived. And there are today many bishops who witnessed that oath; who saw it with their eyes and heard it with their ears. Remember too how, when ambition to be pope moved several of the cardinals, to remove all rivalry on that occasion, thou didst bind thy-

self with an oath, on condition that they did the same, never to hold the papacy. See how faithfully thou hast kept these oaths!

Further, when a synod was held in the time of Pope Nicholas, whereat 125 bishops assisted, it was established and decreed under pain of anathema that none should ever be made Pope except by the election of the cardinals, the approbation of the people and the consent and authorization of the king. And of that decision and decree thou thyself wast the author, sponsor and signatory.

Also thou hast, as it were, filled the whole church with the stench of a grave scandal by living more intimately than is necessary with a woman not of thy kin. This is a matter of propriety rather than of morality; and yet this general complaint is everywhere made, that at the apostolic see all judgments and all decrees are the work of woman, and that the whole church is governed by this new senate of woman. . . .

Wherefore henceforth we renounce, now and for the future, all obedience unto thee—which indeed we never promised to thee. And since, as thou didst publicly proclaim, none of us has been to thee a bishop, so thou henceforth wilt be Pope to none of us.

Appendix D

Gregory's Account of Henry IV's Penance at Canossa[17]

[Henry IV had been temporarily deposed by Pope Gregory VII, who was supposed to come to Germany for a meeting of the Diet in February, 1077, to make a final decision. Henry feared that the Pope might side with some of his rebellious subjects and make the deposition permanent. Hence the repentance at Canossa which resulted in papal absolution.]

Inasmuch as for the love of justice ye have assumed common cause and danger with us in the stress of this Christian warfare, we have bethought us to relate to you, beloved, in sincere affection, how the king, humbled to penance, has obtained the pardon of absolution, and how the whole matter has progressed since his entry into Italy up to the present day.

As had been arranged with the legates whom you dispatched to us, we came into Lombardy about twenty days before the date on which one of the nobles was to meet us at the pass, and awaited his coming before we crossed over to the other side of the Alps.

When the time fixed upon had quite passed, we were told, as we could well believe, that at that season, on account of the numerous

[17] James Harvey Robinson, *Readings in European History* (Boston and New York: Ginn and Co., 1904), I, 282–283.

obstacles, an escort could not be sent to meet us. We were then involved in no little anxiety as to what we would best do, since we had no means of crossing over to you.

Meanwhile, however, we learned positively that the king was approaching. Indeed, before he entered Italy he had sent us suppliant messages, offering to render satisfaction, in all respects, to God, St. Peter, and ourselves. He also renewed his promise that he would be perfectly obedient in the matter of amending his life if only he might win from us the favor of absolution and of the apostolic benediction.

When, after many delays and after much consultation we had, through all the envoys who passed between us, severely reprimanded him for his offenses, he at length came of his own accord, accompanied by a few followers, with no hostility or arrogance in his bearing, to the town of Canossa, where we were tarrying. And there, laying aside all the trappings of royalty, he stood in wretchedness, barefooted and clad in woolen, for three days before the gate of the castle, and implored with profuse weeping the aid and consolation of the apostolic mercy, until he had moved all who saw or heard of it to such pity and depth of compassion that they interceded for him with many prayers and tears and wondered at the unaccustomed hardness of our heart; some even protested that we were displaying not the seriousness of the apostolic displeasure but the cruelty of tyrannical ferocity.

At last, overcome by his persistent remorse and by the earnest entreaties of those with us, we loosed the chain of anathema and received him into the favor of our fellowship and into the lap of the holy mother Church.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Discuss the origin of Celtic Christianity and its differences from Roman Christianity brought to England by Augustine and his Benedictine monks.
2. Why is Gregory I considered the greatest of the early popes?
3. In what ways did the papacy and the empire help each other at various times in the early Middle Ages?
4. Explain the problem raised for both church and state by the feudal organization of society. Specifically, what was the Investiture Controversy about?
5. What was the aim of the Reform of Cluny? What initial advantages did the Abbey of Cluny have in this struggle?

6. In what sense was the Gregorian Reform an extension of the Reform of Cluny?
7. Read Appendices B, C and D, for the light they throw on both sides of the great struggle between Gregory VII, on the one hand, and Henry IV and his supporters on the other. Why did Gregory demand a strong papacy? What complaints did the German bishops make against him?
8. What was the aim of Cistercian reform? Why in the end did it fail?

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Chapter 16

THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES

THE PEAK OF MEDIEVAL CIVILIZATION. The Middle Ages reached their peak in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These centuries were the age of chivalry, the period of the Crusades, of Gothic cathedrals, of the rise of the Franciscan and Dominican orders. It was a period that witnessed the rise of the universities and the beginning of the development of Catholic theology into the elaborate system known as Scholasticism. It was an era of great rulers: Frederic Barbarossa, Richard the Lion-Hearted, St. Louis of France, Frederick II in Germany, Robert Bruce in Scotland. It was a period of great churchmen, most eminent among them Pope Innocent III, and of great religious figures like St. Francis and St. Dominic; a period of great scholars like Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and of great creative artists like Giotto and Dante. It was the age of the Arthurian legends and the Nibelungen, of the Meistersingers and the Troubadours. In politics it was the dawn of the democratic spirit, symbolized by the signing of the Magna Charta, in an age of rising national monarchies. In the history of the church it was an age of faith and an age of great achievement.

INNOCENT III AND THE IMPERIAL CHURCH. Under Innocent III (1198–1216) the papacy reached the apex of its authority over both the spiritual and the temporal affairs of Christendom. A member of the Italian aristocracy, Innocent III was educated in Paris, then the center for the study of theology, and at Bologna, pre-eminent in the study of both canonical and civil law. Thus he was well prepared for the duties of the high office which he assumed when only thirty-seven. As pope he displayed great versatility as a skillful lawyer, administrator, diplomat, and statesman.

Immediately upon accession to the papal throne, Innocent III turned his attention to strengthening the position of the Church in its long struggle with the imperial state. Here he trod a path well marked by his predecessors in office, notably Gregory VII. Innocent III went farther than any preceding pope in his claims to temporal power. His analogy of "The Moon and the Sun"[1] is a famous example of his theory of the relation between the empire and the papacy. While subsequent events proved that Innocent's reach exceeded his grasp, the Church reached new heights during his pontificate. And it should be remembered that in so doing, Innocent III provided medieval Europe with a unity and stability it sorely needed, with the sacrifice, of course, of certain liberties and freedoms that modern man would be loath to surrender.

Innocent III's first act was to reclaim the Patrimony of Peter, i.e., the papal states. Here his knowledge of politics, as a member of the nobility used to the ways of power, stood him in good stead. Not hesitating to use papal funds to raise and to support troops when these were needed, he was able to obtain the recognition of his right to rule by most of the papal states.

Innocent's experience with the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) illustrates the kind of compromises to which he was forced in extending the power of the Church. This crusade never reached Jerusalem, but ended, instead, in the conquest and sack of Constantinople. The pope never approved the diversion of the crusade from its original aim, but when the crusaders established a Latin Empire of the East in the territory wrested from the Byzantine Empire, Innocent accepted this extension of the authority of the Roman Church.[2] In the end, however, this usurpation of authority backfired. The Latin Empire of the East lasted only until 1261 and the schism between the Western and Eastern churches had been deepened. The pope never lost his en-

[1] See Appendix A.
[2] See Appendix B.

thusiasm for a crusade to capture the holy places, however, and one of his last acts as pope was to preach a new crusade at the Lateran Council of 1215, to be led by Frederick II, though Innocent did not live to see it carried out.[3]

In Germany the policy of Innocent III was to forestall the rise to power of a strong ruler who might threaten control of the papal states. Hence Innocent at first supported Otto IV against Philip of Hohenstaufen and later turned against Otto in favor of young Frederick II, who bound himself by extensive promises to the papal throne. In England Innocent intervened in the election of an archbishop of Canterbury, rejecting both of the candidates who had been proposed and insisting upon the selection of Stephen Langton. When King John rejected this choice, the pope excommunicated the king and placed England under an interdict. In the end, John had to make a humiliating peace with the pope and surrender England as a fief to the papacy, although John's subsequent behavior often belied that of a vassal. Such a role, however, was sometimes useful for John to play; for example, John sought the pope's assistance when the barons forced him to sign the Magna Charta and Innocent promptly declared the document null and void, since a vassal's promise was not valid without the overlord's approval.

Nearly all the rulers of Europe came to terms in such fashion with the authority of the pope. Most of the Christian rulers of Spain made themselves his vassals, as did the rulers of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary. The Latin ruler of Constantinople sought his aid. Philip II of France alone remained politically independent, but even he had to recognize the moral authority of Innocent and abandon his attempt to have the French bishops annul his marriage to the Danish princess Ingeborg. Before his death Innocent had realized for himself and his Church the promise in the Book of Jeremiah: "See, I have set you this day over nations and over kingdoms, to pluck up and to break down, to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant."[4]

[3] See Appendix C for privileges offered by Innocent III to crusaders.
[4] Jer. 1:10.

The climax of Innocent's career came with the convening of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which was attended by fifteen hundred abbots, bishops, archbishops, and other prelates, and representatives of all the nations of Christendom. The opening address of the pope strongly emphasized the necessity of moral reform of the Church, and in particular, the moral reform of the clergy. "The corruption of the people," said Innocent, "has its chief source in the clergy. From this rise the evils of Christendom: faith perishes, religion is defaced . . . justice is trodden under foot, heretics multiply, schismatics are emboldened, the faithless grow strong, the Saracens triumph." Moved by the stern words of Innocent, delegates to the council meeting adopted a wide range of proposals aimed at raising the moral standards of the Church, clergy and laity alike. They also recommended that the education of the clergy be improved. The doctrines of the Church regarding the Trinity and transubstantiation were given more precise definition. Belief in transubstantiation now became an article of faith.[5] From this time on, confession and communion at least once a year became mandatory upon the laity. An attempt was made to bring the Greek church into closer union with Rome, a long cherished dream of the Western church which had seemed about to be realized with the creation of the Latin Empire of the East. It was toward the close of this council, as we have seen, that Innocent III urged a new crusade upon the council, making known to all who might join the crusade that certain privileges would be granted, such as exemption from taxation and from the payment of interest to creditors. Innocent III died a year later (1216), at an age younger than that at which many popes have assumed office. He had consumed himself in his constant and unremitting labors to fulfil his ambitious plans for the papal office.

THE CRUSADES. The consequences of the Crusades were more important than the actual course of the Crusades themselves. The Church, as their sponsor, gained immense prestige, at first. Yet, from the moral and religious viewpoint,

[5] See Appendix D for canon on transubstantiation.

the Crusades had unfortunate consequences. The Church, which had in the beginning condemned war, and had later developed the theory of a just war, had now come to identify some wars as "holy." In the end Crusades were preached by the papacy, not for the purpose of rescuing the holy places and putting down the infidel, but to stamp out heresies within Christendom itself. Furthermore, the practice of granting indulgences for the remission of penalties for sin, begun by Pope Urban II as a reward for participation in the First Crusade, led to many abuses. Such grants of indulgences too often seemed to be something of a spiritual bribe and an easy alternative to the customary contrition, confession, and adequate penalties. Still another consequence of the Crusades was the hatred they aroused between Byzantine and Roman Christianity, as well as that between Christian West and Muslim East.

The more positive results of the Crusades are to be found in the economic and social, political and cultural areas. This was a period of rapid increase of trade with the Near East, and this expansion of commerce had contributed to the revival of urban life in the West, especially along the great supply route from northern Italy across the Alps and into the Rhine valley. Thus it also resulted in a strengthening of the merchant classes. At the same time, the Crusades contributed to the decline of the feudal nobility. Many of the nobles who went on Crusades had to sacrifice their feudal lands and property, thus weakening the feudal system and in that way preparing the way for the rise of powerful national monarchies that would challenge the papacy's assertion of universal power. Then, too, the thirst for travel, aroused by the Crusades, led men like Marco Polo to attempt daring ventures into strange lands. This spirit of adventure and curiosity led eventually to the discovery of America and the establishment of trade routes to the Far East. Moreover, direct contact with the higher civilizations of the Byzantines and the Arabs was an important impetus to learning and cultural advance, and thus contributed directly to the rise of universities and the revival of learning.

THE CHALLENGE OF HERESY. The Crusades, like all wars, produced unexpected results. For one thing, the failure of the Crusades, even though they had been sponsored by the Church and identified as the will of God, kindled religious doubts about the divine origin and mission of the Christian Church. The returning crusaders also brought with them disturbing reports of other ways of religious life and thought which they had encountered, such as Muslim aversion to the use of images in religion. Moreover, in the course of their travels some of them had been brought into direct contact with groups influenced by ancient Manichean dualism, which had filtered in, centuries earlier, from Persia through Asia Minor to the Balkans. One such group was the Paulicians, an heretical Christian sect which had flourished in eastern Asia Minor. The Paulicians believed in a kind of Manichean dualism, and rejected sacraments, images, the Cross, and much of the Bible. In the ninth century and even later, Paulicians had carried on missionary activity in Bulgaria. During the period of the Crusades, soldiers returning home through Bulgaria heard about people called Bogomils, another heretical sect, closely related to the Paulicians. The Cathari, about whom we shall hear more, are said to have originated from the Bogomils.

At home the doubts raised by returning soldiers combined with the uncertainty resulting from rapid changes in the economic and social order to create an atmosphere of religious ferment. Peasants were growing restless in their bondage to their feudal lords, who were often prelates of the Church. The rising merchant class was now able to challenge the feudal nobility for power, especially in the towns emerging along the great trade routes. Under these changing conditions, long-established Church tradition came under question

especially at the two ends of the social scale. Rough lords often disbelieved because they hated Church discipline; quick-witted scholars at the universities, because they had read the Arabian translators and commentators of Aristotle; they now knew too much to accept certain factors in the current teaching, and passed on to reject the whole.

The peasant, at the other end, often knew too little, and was too heavy-witted to think or feel as the Church required him.[6]

As many as 150 heretical sects are said to have flourished in thirteenth-century Europe. Much of this manifestation of religious unrest centered in the cities. Free thought and heresy were especially common in southern France and northern Italy, in such great cities as Toulouse in the province of Languedoc.

Certain organized movements that arose within the Church, but were eventually branded heretical, called attention to religious needs not satisfied by the monastic and church life of the time. The Waldenses may be taken as an example. The Waldenses were so called because they were followers of Peter Waldo,[7] a rich merchant of Lyons (d. A.D. 1217) who, after he had experienced a religious conversion, sought to live by the words of Jesus: "If you would be perfect, go, sell what you possess and give it to the poor," and gathered about him followers who became known as the "Poor Men of Lyons." The Waldenses occupied themselves with preaching the Gospels to the lowest classes in the villages, towns, and cities. The Waldenses did not originally think of themselves as heretical, but for the most part they were unlearned men and women whose preaching was frowned upon by the Church. When they persisted, they were excommunicated (1184).

In contrast with such lay groups as the Waldenses that sought to reform the Church from within, there were also

[6] G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion* (Cambridge: University Press, 1929), II, 107.

[7] This is an oversimplification. Note the following more exact description of the origin of the movement: "The Waldensian church grew in reality out of a fusion of the work of Peter Waldo and the Poor Men of Lyons with movements originated by Arnold of Brescia, Peter de Bruys and Henry of Cluny. It came to contain elements in the teaching of these four men, and matured into a distinctly organized church . . . What attracted so powerfully wide circles of the population to these schismatic movements were not their 'doctrines,' but the ethical seriousness and the consequence with which they carried out the moral demands of the gospel." Vergilius Ferm (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945), p. 818.

self-avowed heretical groups like the Cathari ("the pure"), also known as Albigensians, after the town of Albi in southern France. The Cathari seem to have been most numerous in northern Italy and southern France, though they counted adherents even in the Balkans, as seen in the great council meeting at Toulouse in 1167. The Cathari themselves were divided into two ranks: the leaders, or *perfecti*, and the believers, or followers, who were not bound by the strict rules of the former. The strict asceticism of the *perfecti* put to shame the easy morality and luxurious way of life of the Christian clergy of southern France and was thus a prime factor in arousing criticism of the Church.

The original records of the Cathari have been entirely lost, but the sect seems to have affirmed dualistic teachings reminiscent of the ancient Manicheans, in addition to its practice of asceticism. Some of the Cathari rejected parts of the Old Testament, but all stressed the importance of the New Testament, with especial emphasis upon the Gospel of John. They proclaimed two churches, their own and an evil one, the Church of Rome. This open hostility toward Rome also worked to bring down upon them the full weight of that Church's disapproval and hostility. And the papacy was to use both persuasion and force to crush the Albigensian movement. The ablest missionary preachers of the Church, including St. Bernard and other Cistercians, and later St. Dominic and a band of poor friars, were sent to Albigensian centers. Eventually both Crusades and the Inquisition were turned against the Albigensians, but it was a full hundred years after the establishment of the Inquisition at the Council of Toulouse in 1229 before Albigensianism was exterminated.

Rise of the Mendicant Orders. The mendicant orders arose to meet the demands of a new age. These new orders —four in number, Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, and Augustinians—were religious fraternities bound by vows of both collective and individual poverty. The mendicant orders introduced a radical change in medieval religious life by bringing religion directly to the people. The great religious reforms of the past—Benedictine, Cluniac, Cistercian—

had originated in the monasteries and were concerned with sacramental and sacerdotal reform, not the spiritual life of the masses. The mendicants, unlike the regular clergy, were able to move among the people. They also departed radically from earlier tradition when they vowed collective as well as individual poverty. With the rapid increase in their numbers and the necessity of owning permanent buildings, it became necessary to circumscribe the practice of institutional poverty, yet in the early days these wandering friars were able to meet the poor of the cities on their own ground.

The most prominent of the mendicant orders, both founded in the thirteenth century, were the Dominicans and the Franciscans. Both of these orders worked closely together and there was a mutual borrowing of ideas and practices. St. Dominic originally intended his monks to combat the heresies of the day, a task which called for learning. But the Dominican order soon adopted Franciscan poverty; and it was not long before the Franciscans adopted the path of learning. Both orders were itinerant; both were organized by districts or provinces; both met at regular times and then dispersed; both were controlled by a master-general; and both were under the direct authority of the pope. The mendicants aroused the dislike of the local bishops because they were allowed to preach, to hear confessions, and to grant absolution anywhere, but were not subject to the local or provincial religious authorities.

St. Dominic and the Preaching Friars. St. Dominic's mission and achievement developed naturally out of his temperament and character, combined with the circumstances of his life. Born about A.D. 1170 in Castile of a family of the Spanish fighting nobility, Dominic, until his mid-twenties, led the quiet life of a student in a cathedral school at Palencia, a provincial capital of northwestern Spain. Then he became canon, and later, prior of canons of the Cathedral of Osma. His bishop, Diego d'Azevedo, initiated a program of winning Albigensian heretics back into the Church by using groups of missionaries dedicated to poverty but of sufficient intellectual caliber to oppose successfully the most intelligent

of the Albigensian missionaries. In 1203 Dominic accompanied his bishop to the city of Toulouse and other parts of Provence and soon discovered that the Church was woefully weak in its leadership here in the very centers of the Albigensian heresy. Priests were ignorant and corrupt. The leaders of the Albigensian movement, on the other hand, commanded the respect of the people by their asceticism, poverty, and intellectual capacity. The contrast was devastating. But it gave Dominic his clue to the method of approach later adopted by the Dominican order, namely, preaching and persuasion by intelligent and highly trained men, themselves giving an example of simple, ascetic living.

In 1203 Dominic and his bishop were commissioned by Pope Innocent III to preach to the Albigensians. The bishop eventually returned to his diocese, but Dominic carried on the work in Languedoc. In 1205 he adopted a life of voluntary poverty as part of his campaign to win back heretics by power of example and preaching, and for this purpose gathered a group of similarly dedicated friars around him.

The ten years Dominic and his band spent in Languedoc were not easy years for those relying upon methods of peaceful persuasion. They were the years of confusion and bloodshed of the Albigensian Crusade proclaimed by Innocent III in A.D. 1208 and carried on for many years by Simon de Montfort and other nobles with motives less religious than Simon's. The Inquisition did not originate until after Dominic's death, but scholars have argued both for and against the view that he would have welcomed it as in keeping with his ultimate goal. Later Dominicans, at least, did take an active part in the Inquisition.

It has been said that the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century became the papal militia; this is peculiarly apt as applied to the Dominicans. With headquarters of the order in Rome, Dominic recruited the ablest candidates and sent his friars throughout Europe and into foreign lands, to make converts to Christianity. The Dominicans became especially strong in the universities and produced two of the greatest names in the Scholastic movement, Albertus Magnus

and Thomas Aquinas. The Dominicans were the first religious order to give the intellect a prominent role. Together with other mendicant orders, they supplied Europe with its leaders of thought.

ST. FRANCIS AND THE FRANCISCAN ORDER. A biographer writes: "Poverty, humility, love, and joy—add them together, and the result is Francis of Assisi. Set them over against wealth, pride, hatred, and fear—and you have the conflict between Francis and his times."[8] Francis' requirement of poverty, both individual and collective, was not an ascetic gesture, but attuned to a basic need of the period in which Francis lived, a need which was present as much within institutional religious life as in lay society. Outwardly, the Church of the thirteenth century was engaged in a tremendous struggle for power with the successive emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. Inwardly, the Church was marked by many faults, especially by corruption among the clergy. Bishops extorted money from priests; priests used their office to secure benefices and inheritances from the dying. Among the people, superstition was rife, but little was done to educate them in spiritual matters. Bishops alone had the right to preach. The services of the Church were purely ritualistic.[9]

Corruption had also entered the monasteries, within which, to be sure, individual monks still embraced the ideal of poverty. But the very reputation of the monks for holiness had led many wealthy men to give large sums of money and much property to the monasteries. In this way, the monks, in their institutional capacity, were exposed to the same temptations that attended the giving and taking of money in the outside world. Some monastic estates were so large that it was no longer physically possible for monks to do the work as required in the Benedictine Rule. Therefore, in the course of time, monks had entrusted the lands to stewards or farmed them out to middlemen and themselves had become absentee landlords, with interests identical to those

[8] Fred Eastman, *Men of Power* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1938), II, 13.

[9] For substantiation of these and other charges, see Paul Sabatier, *Life of St. Francis of Assisi* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), chap. iii or G. G. Coulton, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, chap. viii.

of the wealthy, noble classes. "One side of Francis' mission," says Coulton, "was a war against capitalism; and the monks had become one of the great capitalistic forces of the Middle Ages."[10]

St. Francis himself remained loyal to his original aim of poverty, both individual and collective, to the day of his death. On his death bed, as recorded in his Last Will and Testament, he warned his followers: "Let the Brothers take great care not to receive churches, habitations, and all that men build for them, except as all is in accordance with the holy poverty which we have vowed in the Rule . . ." For generations a minority of the Franciscans remained loyal to the original teaching of Francis concerning possessions. These stricter Franciscans became known as Spirituals or Zealots. In the early fourteenth century, however, Pope John XXII put the Franciscans on the same basis as other monastic organizations with respect to ownership of property. This led to a rebellion on the part of some of the Spirituals, and a number of them were burned at the stake as heretics.

It is probable that the original ideal of Francis was impractical for so large a group as the Franciscan order soon became. Even before Francis' death it had become apparent that his leadership was not adequate to the needs of an already large organization, and Elias, one of the followers of Francis but unlike him in spirit, was made minister-general. In the end the Franciscans became much like other ecclesiastical organizations with great collective wealth. Whereas Francis had insisted upon ignorance as well as poverty, the Franciscans in a very short time became an order of learned scholars, much like the Dominicans. It is worthy of note that Roger Bacon, sometimes called the father of modern science, was a Franciscan monk.

And yet perhaps Francis' work was not wasted. Just as Benedict had made manual labor respectable, so Francis created a new attitude toward voluntary poverty.

In the earlier thirteenth century, it was common enough for a knight, a rich merchant, or a great ecclesiastic, to have a son or a brother among the mendicants; later, it was still more common for a

[10] *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

distinguished university teacher to be a mendicant himself. The knight or judge might not share his brother's ideas about poverty—he might even, with part of his mind, despise such ideas as pusillanimous—but at the back even of the most unsympathetic mind there would remain a real impression of something attempted, something done by the friar, which, on searching our own hearts, we cannot certainly say that we ourselves would have the power to imitate.[11]

The mendicant orders at least established a moral norm which influenced the older orders. Furthermore, and of more importance, St. Francis became an inspiring example of self-sacrifice in his own age and in the subsequent history of the Church.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

Innocent III's Analogy of Sun and Moon[12]

[In this Analogy of the Sun and Moon the subordination of the empire to the papacy is clearly indicated. Innocent III conceived a united Christendom under papal direction, an outcome eventually frustrated by the rise of nationalism.]

Even as God, the Creator of the Universe, has set two great lights in the firmament of heaven, the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night, so for the firmament of the universal Church, which is called by the name of heaven, He has appointed two great dignitaries: the greater to rule over men's souls, as it were the day, and the lesser to rule over men's bodies, as it were the night. These are the authority of the Pope and the King. Further, as the moon derives its light from the sun, which indeed is less than the sun both in bulk and importance, though alike in place and power, so the power of the King derives the splendour of its dignity from the authority of the Pope; and the more the former keeps within view of the latter, so much the more is it adorned by a lesser light, and the further it is removed from the view of the other so much the more does it excel in splendour.

[11] Coulton, *op. cit.*, pp. 133–134.

[12] B. J. Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1941), III, 149.

Appendix B

Innocent III Extends Latin Influence over Greeks[13]

[The Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) was diverted from its original aim of recapturing Jerusalem and ended with the conquest and looting of Constantinople, followed by the creation of a Latin Empire of the East. Innocent III had not approved the attack upon Constantinople, but he did accept the opportunity to extend Latin control over the Church of Constantinople.]

We read in Daniel the prophet that it is God on high who reveals mysteries, changes times and transfers kingdoms. This has been fulfilled in the kingdom of the Greeks; in our own days, as we see and are glad. For He who rules over the kingdom of men and gives it to whom He pleases, has transferred the Empire of Constantinople from the proud to the humble, from the disobedient to the devout, from schismatics to Catholics; from the Greeks, I mean, to the Latins. "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." This is the change wrought by the hand of the Most High; whereby "the right hand of the Lord hath done marvellous things," by exalting the holy Roman Church in restoring the daughter to the mother, the father to the whole body, and the members to the head. . . . We therefore admonish you all, exhort you diligently and by these apostolic letters command you that you inflame the devotion which the Christian army has towards its mother the Roman Church; that you fulfil her commands loyally, and that you make every effort to induce our most beloved son in Christ, Baldwin, the illustrious Emperor of Constantinople (1204–6) and his army great and small alike, to study to establish the kingdom of the Greeks in obedience to the Apostolic See; by whose aid they will be able, and without it quite unable, to retain their dominion.

Appendix C

Innocent III Preaches a Crusade, A.D. 1215[14]

[The call issued by Innocent III at the Lateran Council of 1215 is remarkable for the inducements offered not only to those going on the Crusade, but to those making it possible for others to go. The privileges include the remission of sins.]

Since we earnestly desire to liberate the holy land from the hands of the wicked, we have consulted wise men who fully understand the

[13] Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church*, III, 151–152.

[14] O. J. Thatcher and E. H. McNeal, *A Source Book for Medieval History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), pp. 537 ff.

present situation. And at the advice of the holy council we decree that all crusaders who shall determine to go by sea shall assemble in the kingdom of Sicily a year from the first of next June. They may gather at their convenience either at Brindisi, Messina, or in any other place on either side of the strait. If the Lord permits, we shall also be there in order that the Christian army may, with our advice and aid, be well organized, and set out with the divine benediction and papal blessing.

1. Those who determine to go by land shall be ready at the same date, and they shall keep us informed of their plans in order that we may send them a suitable legate to counsel and aid them.

2. All clergymen of whatever rank, who go on the crusade, shall diligently devote themselves to prayer and exhortation, by word and example teaching the crusaders always to have the fear and the love of God before their eyes and not to say or do anything to offend the divine majesty. . . .

3. These clergymen shall receive all the income of their benefices for three years, just as if they were residing in them, and, if it is necessary, they may pawn their benefices for the same length of time.

4. In addition to these things, that nothing relating to Christ's business may be neglected, we command patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and all others who have the care of souls, zealously to preach the crusade to those who are under their charge, by the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, one only true eternal God, beseeching kings, dukes, princes, marquises, counts, barons, and other magnates, as well as the communes of cities, villages, and towns, that those who do not go in person to aid the holy land may, in proportion to their wealth, furnish a suitable number of fighting men and provide for their necessary expenses for three years. This they shall do for the remission of their sins according to the terms published in our general letter, and, for the sake of greater clearness, repeated below. Not only those who give their own ships, but also those who shall try to build ships for this purpose, shall have a share in this remission of sins.

Appendix D

Fourth Lateran Council on Transubstantiation[15]

[The doctrine of the Eucharist has had a long history of development (see Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church*, pp. 209–11, for a brief summary). The word "transubstantiation" appears in use in the twelfth century. Although the doctrine of transubstantiation was made an article of faith by the Lateran

[15] Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church*, III, 153.

Council of 1215, it received further elaboration at the Council of Trent (1545–1563).]

There is one universal Church of the faithful, outside which no one at all is in a state of salvation. In this Church Jesus Christ Himself is both priest and sacrifice; and His body and blood are really contained in the Sacrament of the altar under the species of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into the body and the wine into the blood by the power of God so that to effect the mystery of unity, we ourselves receive of that which is His what He himself received of that which is ours. And, moreover, no one can consecrate this sacrament except a priest who has been duly ordained according to the keys of the Church, which Jesus Christ Himself gave to the Apostles and their successors.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. What reasons are there for considering the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a creative period of European history?
2. How did Innocent III interpret the role of the papacy? To what extent were his goals achieved or frustrated? See Appendix A as well as text.
3. What were some important results of the Lateran Council of A.D. 1215? See Appendix D as well as text.
4. What were the effects of the Crusades upon the Church itself? Upon the cultural and political life of Europe?
5. How do you account for the multiplication of heresies in the thirteenth century?
6. Describe the Albigensian movement. Was it really a Christian heresy? What were its basic ideas and practices?
7. Distinguish the mendicant orders from previous monastic reforms.
8. Compare and contrast the Dominicans and Franciscans.
9. Do you think Francis of Assisi's idea of collective as well as individual monastic poverty was ever a practical one? Were his sacrificial labors to attain this goal entirely wasted?

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

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DEANESLY, MARGARET. *A History of the Medieval Church, 590–1500,* 8th ed. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1954. See chap. xi on "Innocent III"; chap. xii on "The Friars"; and chap. xvii on "Medieval Heresy and the Inquisition."

EVANS, JOAN. *Life in Medieval France.* New York: Phaidon Publishers, 1957. Chapter v on "Pilgrimage and Crusade" contains an interesting account of the changing idea of the Crusades in the course of these medieval centuries.

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SABATIER, PAUL. *Life of St. Francis of Assisi.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894. The first application of the critical historical method to the study of the life of St. Francis.

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Chapter 17

DECLINE AND REVIVAL IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

CHANGE IN THEOLOGICAL CLIMATE. The great changes that were now taking place in Europe soon were reflected in changes in theological attitudes. The social revolution of the Middle Ages, the emergence of the bourgeoisie—merchants, bankers, shopkeepers, and craftsmen—brought with it a demand that theology take account of the needs of this new urban class. This meant a new respect for the physical and the material world and a respect for reason as a guide to action practiced by these hardheaded businessmen living in an increasingly worldly environment. The traditional theology taught in church-sponsored schools consisted largely of the teachings of the Church Fathers and provided few answers to the questions being posed by this new age. Instead men turned to the writings of Aristotle, long preserved in Arabic translations and commentaries, which they now translated into Latin. The rediscovery of Aristotle was one phase of a much wider revival of interest in ancient learning. Yet this rediscovery of the Greek past was selective. Plato was neglected; Aristotle was prized, because he seemed to have the answers to the questions being most urgently asked.

The immediate result was a period of theological confusion and controversy. "Free-thought came into the universities with Aristotle and his Arabic commentators."[1] The earlier Scholasticism (the traditional teachings of medieval schoolmen, based upon the authority of the Church Fathers) had arisen in the cathedral schools of earlier centuries and had adopted the premise that the function of philosophy

[1] G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion* (Cambridge: University Press, 1929), I, 483.

was the undergirding of faith. Augustine had defined the relationship between faith and reason by saying, *credimus ut cognoscamus,* restated by Anselm, *credo ut intelligam,* "I believe that I may know." From the Arabic translation of and commentaries upon Aristotle, a quite different solution to the problem of faith versus reason now became a possibility. For example, the Spanish-Arab philosopher and commentator upon Aristotle, known in Arabic as Ibn-Rushd and to the Latin world as Averroes, stressed the importance of reason to the solution of theological problems. Under the label of Averroism, although Averroes himself never went to this extreme, Aristotle was claimed as authority for the view that what may seem true in the light of faith may not be true in the light of reason. Thus the conflict between Plato and Aristotle, faith and reason, our conflict between "science and religion," seemed insoluble and for a time the study of Aristotle was banned at Paris. Eventually, however, the study of Aristotle was restored. It was learned, for one thing, that the Arabic interpretation of Aristotle was not always accurate. Under the leadership of outstanding scholars such as Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas,[2] due importance was given to the force of Aristotle's teachings. Indeed, Aristotelianism is today basic to the accepted philosophy of the Roman Catholic Church.

With the revival of learning and the recovery of the writings of the Greek philosophers, the debate over faith and reason came to occupy a central place in the teaching and discussions of the theologians. Some of the more prominent names are those of Anselm (1033–1109), Abelard (1079–1142), Hugo of St. Victor (1097?–1141), Peter Lombard (*c.* 1100–1160), Albertus Magnus (1206?–1280), and Thomas Aquinas (1225?–1274). Scholars divided into two camps, the realists and the nominalists. It is important to understand that the controversy was rooted in the struggle between old and new, between conservative and "modernist" ways of thinking. Thus the realist championed the older Platonic ways of thought and defended "universals," among which

[2] See Appendix A for views of Thomas Aquinas on faith and reason.

were included the church and the papacy. The nominalists were individualists like Roger Bacon who wrote that "one individual is worth more than all the universals in the world . . . God has not created the person for the sake of the universal man, but for the sake of individual persons."[3] The issue becomes clearer when we consider some of its applications. The first important controversy was over the interpretation of the Eucharist. Berengar of Tours (999–1086), arguing from the nominalist viewpoint, attacked the belief that the elements are changed in substance into the real body and blood of Christ. He was challenged by Lanfranc (d. 1089), prior of the monastery of Bec, who asserted the realist, universalist interpretation. The discussion growing out of this controversy contributed to the development of the doctrine of transubstantiation.

DECLINE OF THE MEDIEVAL PAPACY. The papacy had reached its zenith under Innocent III, the most powerful ruler of his day, in whose reign "the world supremacy of the papacy appeared realized."[4] It reached its nadir during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the period of the so-called "Babylonian Captivity" of the papacy in Avignon (1309–1377) and the ensuing "Great Schism" (1378–1417), during which rival popes anathematized each other and split Western Christendom into competing camps.

The downfall of the Hohenstaufens, the ruling house of the Holy Roman Empire in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was a decisive event in the decline of the medieval papacy. Frederick II (1194–1250), emperor (1220–1250), king of Germany (1212–1250), king of Sicily (1197–1250), and king of Jerusalem (1229–1250), had been reared in Sicily and, after his coronation in Rome in 1220, made no move to return to Germany, but made his lands in Sicily and southern Italy the center of his activities. The rule of his German kingdom he turned over to his young son, Henry, duke of

[3] Quoted in W. O. Ault, *Europe in the Middle Ages* (Boston & New York: D. C. Heath Co., 1937), p. 502.

[4] Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church* (rev. ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), p. 259.

Swabia. The proximity of imperial headquarters to Rome and the incessant activity of Frederick II to unite Italy at the expense of the papacy aroused the fears and the enmity of the papacy, which now determined to destroy the House of Hohenstaufen. This the papacy succeeded in doing, although not until after the death of Frederick II in 1250. Conrad IV (1250–1254), Frederick's son, died in 1254, leaving a young heir, Conradin. When Conradin attempted to claim his hereditary rights in southern Italy and Sicily, Pope Clement IV (1265–1268) called for assistance from Charles of Anjou, a younger brother of Louis IX of France. Charles defeated Conradin and had him beheaded in Naples in 1268, bringing to an end the Hohenstaufen line. Papacy had defeated empire, but it was a Pyrrhic victory because it was made possible by assistance from the rising nation of France, upon which the popes now became dependent.

BONIFACE VIII AND THE BULL UNAM SANCTAM. Ironically, the most extravagant claims to authority were made at the very time when the real power of the papacy was in decline. In 1302 Boniface VIII published the famous bull *Unam Sanctam,* with its claim that "it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff."[5] This edict was proclaimed at the height of a bitter struggle between Boniface and Philip IV over the right of the French government to tax the clergy and church property. Philip replied by denouncing Boniface as unfit for papal office and called for a general council of the Church to try him for various crimes, including heresy. Boniface threatened to excommunicate him. Philip then joined hands with Sciarra Colonna, whose family had long been hostile to Boniface, and hired a band of a thousand men who surprised Boniface at his summer palace at Anagni, holding him captive for three days. The people of Anagni formed a rescue party which freed Boniface, but the Pope died within a month after the attack upon him, on October 11, 1303.

[5] See Appendix B for the bull *Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam.*

THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY. In the papal election which followed the death of Boniface, Philip IV was successful in getting a Frenchman, Bertrand de Got, chosen as pope. The new pope, under the name Clement V, was crowned in Lyons in the presence of Philip and never set foot in Rome. In 1309, under pressure from the French king, Clement established the seat of the papacy at Avignon on the French border. Thus began the "Babylonian Captivity" of the Church that was to last nearly seventy years (1309–1378). Clement V lived modestly as a guest in a Dominican monastery in Avignon, but his successor, John XXII, began the costly process of constructing an imposing palace—residence, fortress, and church—which was to provide luxurious quarters for the papal court and drain Europe financially for many decades.

The effects of the papal migration were felt most immediately in Italy, which was thrown into confusion by the removal of its basis of unity. Nowhere was there more chaos and anarchy than in Rome itself. The problem was economic as well as political and religious, since the prosperity of Rome depended largely upon its role as an ecclesiastical center. The political reaction in other countries was equally significant for the future of the Church. Papal influence diminished sharply in Germany where the imperial Electors, in 1338, formally declared that the choice of the head of the empire no longer required papal approval. The effect in England was to heighten the feeling of nationalism. During much of the fourteenth century (and the early part of the fifteenth) the English were engaged in the Hundred Years' War with the French and were much incensed by the generous loans made by the popes at Avignon to the French government. This led to the encouragement, or at least condonation of attacks on the papacy made by Wyclif and his followers.

THE GREAT SCHISM. The religious consequences of the Avignon papacy were even more serious than the political, for it led directly to the Great Schism (1378–1417), during

which there were two popes—one at Avignon, one at Rome —each claiming to be the vicar of Christ. France, Scotland, Spain, and part of Germany gave obedience to the popes in Avignon. Northern and central Italy, most of Germany, Scandinavia, Bohemia, Poland, Flanders, Portugal, and England supported the popes of Rome. The result was to create religious confusion and to lower the prestige of the Church. It was obvious that one pope was false, and it followed that in one half of Europe the rites of religion were invalid. But how could one know which claimant to the papal seat was in the right? The Council of Pisa (1409), summoned to end the schism, failed in its attempt to persuade the two rival popes to resign; instead it proceeded to elect a third pope, Alexander V (1409–10), succeeded by John XXIII (1410–15). At last, in 1417, the Council of Constance succeeded in persuading Gregory XII (Roman succession) to resign, deposed John XXIII (Pisan succession) and Benedict XIII (Avignon succession), and named Martin V (1417–31) head of the reunited Church. The Schism was ended but the Church had suffered a great loss in prestige.

Events beginning with the migration to Avignon also weakened the Church by creating a severe financial problem. The income from the papal estates in Italy, which had formerly yielded an important part of the papal revenues, were now very largely cut off. At the same time the financial needs of the popes in Avignon grew more pressing because of the cost of establishing the new papal headquarters and supporting an expensive papal court. With decreased income and increased expenditure, it was necessary to secure new church revenue. To meet this need John XXII instituted the system of annates to be levied against the higher clergy. Thus, whenever a new bishop or abbot was appointed, an annate—the episcopal revenue for the first year—had to be turned over to the pope. Reservations and expectancies were other revenue-raising devices by John XXII.[6] The system of reservations allowed the pope to reserve to himself the right to fill ecclesiastical vacancies by direct appointment,

[6] See Appendix C for reservations decreed by Pope John XXII.

overriding the former custom of leaving new appointments to local authorities. Furthermore, whenever a bishop, cardinal, archbishop, or abbot died, it was decreed that his possessions and the revenues of his benefice reverted to the pope as long as the office remained vacant. The system of expectancies allowed the pope to make appointments to a benefice even before it became vacant. All of these transactions, of course, involved large sums of money and their collection was turned over to bankers and businessmen who served as papal collectors.

This extension of papal power and increase of papal taxes aroused hostility and open resistance in various lands. In England, for example, Parliament passed the Statute of Provisors in 1351 forbidding the pope to interfere in ecclesiastical appointments. But even more disastrous than the conflicts with the national monarchies were the materialism and secularism that soon pervaded all aspects of church life. A fee was expected for every office rendered by the Church, for baptisms, weddings, funerals, and any service which could be named. A defender of papal power in the fourteenth century, in a book called *On the Lamentation of the Church,* rightly lamented the wound suffered by the Church because of the cupidity displayed in the highest circles. "Whenever I entered the chambers of the ecclesiastics of the Papal Court," he wrote, "I found brokers and clergy, engaged in weighing and reckoning the money which lay in heaps before them."[7]

THE CONCILIAR MOVEMENT. The history of medieval Christianity is a record of successive movements of revival and reform. Medieval reforms, as a rule, originated in the monasteries. The Cluniac and the Cistercian reforms were attempts to revive the strict practices of the Benedictine Rule, and the Gregorian reform was identical in spirit but more ambitious in scope. Pope Gregory wanted to reform not only the monasteries but the Church and lay society as

[7] Alvaro Pelayo, quoted in Ludwig Pastor, *History of the Popes* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1902), I, 72.

well. The mendicant orders—Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, and Augustinians—known respectively as the Grey, Black, White, and Austin friars were reform movements arising within the Church of Rome and adhering always to the authority of Rome.

The Conciliar movement was the first important reform effort to challenge directly the leadership of the papacy. It was, in fact, an assertion of the authority of the higher clergy against the theory of papal supremacy. It arose as an attempt to end the Great Schism, when papal prestige had reached its lowest ebb and many were convinced that the moral reform of the Church could only be achieved through the councils. The conciliar movement aimed at a representative system of church government. The councils of Pisa (1409), Constance (1414), Basel, and Ferrara-Florence (1431, 1438) voiced the conciliar theory, which is summed up in the *Sacrosancta* decree of Constance. This decree was an open challenge to the papacy's leadership of the Church, for it declared that the Council "has its authority directly from Christ; and everybody, of whatever rank or dignity, including also the pope, is bound to obey this council in those things which pertain to the faith . . ."[8] But the challenge failed when the conciliar movement, too, proved itself unable to achieve the moral reform of the Church. The movement failed because it lacked unity and was hamstrung by the rivalry and conflict among the clergy of the various states represented. The Council of Constance did end the Schism, however.

ORTHODOXY AND REFORM. One trend within the reforming movements of the later Middle Ages culminated eventually in what has become known as the Catholic Reformation of the sixteenth century. It was a demand for orthodoxy in belief combined with an ascetic morality. It stressed obedience to authority, with the corresponding duty of those in authority to exercise discipline. The strongest support for this type of reform came from Spain, where the demand for

[8] See Appendix D for the *Sacrosancta* decree of the Council of Constance, 1415.

orthodoxy had been whetted by centuries of competition with resident Moors and Jews. And it was in Spain that the Inquisition, established by Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241) to combat heresy, found its most ardent support.

Another aspect of orthodox reform was increased emphasis upon the sacramental system, and especially upon the Eucharist. The earliest records of Christian history leave doubt as to the proper interpretation of the words "This is my body, This is my blood." Augustine had inclined to a figurative interpretation of the words. More and more, however, in the course of time, the Eucharist came to be interpreted literally as the very body and blood of Christ. About A.D. 831, Radbertus, a French monk who had studied Greek as well as Latin theology, wrote a treatise on the Eucharist, *On the Body and Blood of the Lord,* in which he agreed with Augustine that the sacrament was valid only for those who participate in faith. But he also insisted upon a literal interpretation of the words of John of Damascus who had said "though the body and blood of Christ remain in the figure of bread and wine, yet we must believe them to be simply a figure and that, after consecration, they are nothing else than the body and blood of Christ."[9] This was the doctrine of transubstantiation, although the word did not come into use until the eleventh century and the doctrine did not become an article of faith until made official by Innocent III at the Lateran Council in 1215.

LAY RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS. The reform movements thus far described had their origin within the monasteries or within the Church. The sacrament of the Eucharist, for example, could only be celebrated by an ordained priest. Beginning in the twelfth century, however, a number of movements of religious revival arose which had their roots in the laity and were essentially non-sacerdotal in character. For this reason they have been described as "proto-Protestant"

[9] Henry Bettenson (ed.), *Documents of the Christian Church* (New York & London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1947), p. 209.

in character,[10] anticipating as they do the later Protestant doctrine of the "spiritual priesthood" of every believer. In northern Italy small groups of religious-minded laymen like the *Humiliati* appeared, who abandoned the idea of monastic seclusion and combined religious living with normal participation in the duties of everyday life. St. Francis of Assisi gave a great impetus to the lay religious movement by his establishment of a third, or lay order, an example soon imitated by the Dominicans. The new idea spread beyond the Alps and into the Rhine Valley, giving rise there to the German Friends of God and in Holland to the Brethren of the Common Life. These groups were religious fellowships counting on their rosters both brotherhoods and sisterhoods and both laymen and priests. Their aim was a revival of personal religious life conceived in inward and spiritual rather than sacramental and sacerdotal terms.

These primarily lay movements received a sharp impetus during the latter part of the fourteenth century, the period of the Black Death and the Interdict—when the regular religious services were suspended—and when the need for some religious substitute for the traditional rites was keenly felt. The following prescription for a way of private religious devotion, which originated in Strassburg and is attributed to Rulman Merswin, illustrates the character of these movements of lay devotion.

All those in whom the love of God, or the terror created by the terrible calamities of the present, arouses a desire to begin a new and spiritual life, will find great profit in a withdrawal into themselves every morning when they rise, to consider what they will undertake during the day. If they find in themselves any evil thought, any intention contrary to the Divine will, let them renounce it for the glory of God. Likewise, in the evening, on going to bed, let them collect themselves and consider how they have spent the day; what acts they have done, and in what spirit they have done them. If they find that they have done any good, let them thank God and give Him the glory. If they find they have committed any sin, let them at-

[10] Lynn D. White in G. F. Thomas (ed.), *The Vitality of the Christian Tradition* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1944), p. 112.

tribute the fault of it to themselves, and to nobody else, and let them show to God a deep repentance, saying to Him:

Oh! Lord, be merciful to me—poor, unworthy sinner, and forgive me all the sins of this day, for I seriously repent, and I have a firm purpose henceforth with Thy help to avoid sinning . . .[11]

Such lay movements were essentially mystical in character. The fourteenth century also produced a number of great individual mystics, such as Meister Eckhart (1260–1329), sometimes called the founder of the Friends of God. John Tauler (*c.* 1300–1361) and Henry Suso (*c.* 1300–1365) were disciples of Eckhart and famous mystics in their own right. Another important German mystic was the anonymous author of the *Theologia Germanica* (German Theology). The so-called Flanders school of mysticism includes John Ruysbroeck (1293–1381), Gerard Groot (1340–1384), who founded the Brethren of the Common Life, and Thomas à Kempis (1380–1471). England, too, had her mystics, among them Richard Rolle (*c.* 1290–1349), the anonymous author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, Walter Hilton (d. 1396), and Lady Julian of Norwich (1343–1413 or after). Italy produced St. Catherine of Siena (1347–1380), who was both mystic and reformer.

THE TEACHINGS OF WYCLIF. John Wyclif (1328–1384) was the most important of the medieval reformers before Luther. Little is known of his early years. An English chronicler of the year 1382 summarized his life by saying:

In those days flourished master John Wycliffe, rector of the church of Lutterworth, in the county of Leicester, the most eminent doctor of theology of those times. In philosophy he was reckoned second to none, and in scholastic learning without rival. This man strove to surpass the skill of other men by subtlety of knowledge and to traverse their opinions.[12]

Wyclif attended Oxford as a student and taught there for most of the rest of his life. He became the most famous scholar of the university and his classrooms were crowded

[11] Rufus M. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion* (London: The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, 1909), p. 256.

[12] Quoted in Margaret Deanesly, *A History of the Medieval Church, 590–1500* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1925), p. 228.

with students. He held several benefices which provided him financial support, but he could have spent little time in the various parishes. It is known that he paid a curate by the name of John Horn to do the actual work of the Lutterworth parish, to which he had been appointed in 1374 and which he was allowed to retain until his death in spite of his condemnation as a heretic in 1380 and again in 1382.

Wyclif became a reformer as a result of his study of the Bible and his dissatisfaction with the condition of the Church. The writings and activities which made him famous were all accomplished during the last eight or nine years of his life. Sent to Bruges in 1374 to represent the crown in negotiations with papal ambassadors concerning the payment of taxes to Avignon, Wyclif came to despair of any possibility of papal reform and centered his hopes in the civil government. It was also on this visit to Bruges that Wyclif came to know John of Gaunt, a younger son of King Edward III, who saw the political implications of Wyclif's views and took him under his protection.

Wyclif's teachings may be summarized under three main headings: first, his theory of dominion; second, the acceptance of the Bible as the sole rule of faith; and third, his teachings about the sacraments. Wyclif's chief claim to originality lies in his idea of dominion and service, stated in terms of feudal theory. According to feudalism, the holder received the right to use land through one or more tenants or tenants-in-chief rather than directly from the actual feudal lord. The right therefore was derived through mediaries. Yet, said Wyclif, the right of these intermediaries is based upon faithful service to the overlord. Applying the analogy to the ecclesiastical life of his day, Wyclif insisted that the pope and the hierarchy had forfeited their right to serve as intermediaries. The hierarchy of the Church in all its ranks was sinful and had thus forfeited all claim to authority and possession. Indeed, Wyclif went on to say, the pope is not the Vicar of Christ, as he pretends to be, but he is actually Anti-Christ (the medieval term for the personification of evil and opponent of Christ and his kingdom).

Wyclif proclaimed the Bible as the sole basis of religious authority because of his disillusionment with the character of the Church and its leadership. The Church taught that the Bible was an essential part of the foundation of its authority and the standard of its life, and yet there were glaring discrepancies between the theory of the Church and its actual practice. Its priesthood was not the true priesthood of the Church of Christ. The Lollards, as Wyclif's disciples became known, held:

> That our usual priesthood which began in Rome, pretended to be of power more lofty than the angels, is not that priesthood which Christ ordained for His apostles. This conclusion is proved because the Roman priesthood is bestowed with signs, rites, and pontifical blessings, of small virtue, nowhere exemplified in Holy Scripture, because the bishop's ordinal and the New Testament scarcely agree, and we cannot see that the Holy Spirit, by reason of any such signs, confers the gift, for He and all His excellent gifts cannot consist in anyone with mortal sin. A corollary to this is that it is a grievous play for wise men to see bishops trifle with the Holy Spirit in the bestowal of orders, because they give the tonsure in outward appearance in the place of white hearts; and this is the unrestrained introduction of anti-christ into the Church to give color to idleness.[13]

Convinced as he was of the supreme importance of the Bible in religious life, Wyclif believed that the Bible should be made available to all the people. "Would to God that every parish church in this land had a good Bible and good exposition on the gospel and God's commands to the people." Furthermore, he stressed the necessity of presenting the Bible to the people in their own vernacular speech, saying "it helpeth every Christian man to study the Gospel in that tongue in which they know best Christ's sentence." As a result of his teaching and influence, Wyclif was responsible for the first translation of the Latin Vulgate into the English vernacular, an event important both in religion and in the history of the English language. The extent of Wyclif's own contribution to the work of translation is not known, although

[13] This is one of the Lollard Conclusions, dating from 1394 and not directly from Wyclif, but yet deriving from him and reflecting his spirit. See Bettenson, *Documents*, p. 248.

he is usually given credit for translating the New Testament. Wyclif arranged not only to translate the Bible but also to have it taken to the people. He sent "poor priests" out all over the land, carrying with them portions of the translated Bible and teaching the people the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and preaching against the seven deadly sins. These itinerant Lollard preachers exerted considerable influence for a time, although they were eventually persecuted and suppressed.

Wyclif's theory of dominion by grace and rejection of the necessity of intermediaries led him to attack the sacramental system as far as that rested upon priestly control. "No more radical blow at ecclesiastical privilege was struck in the Middle Ages" than this.[14] All men deal directly with God and are therefore priests, said Wyclif, affirming what was to become the basic declaration of the Protestant Reformation, the spiritual priesthood of all true believers. Salvation does not depend upon the mediation of a priesthood, but upon election by God. Wyclif did not actually repudiate the seven sacraments, except perhaps confirmation. He did, however, attack the doctrine of transubstantiation, offering in its place a view of Christ's presence in the Eucharist similar to the later theory of consubstantiation (the coexistence of the body and blood of Christ with the bread and wine of the Eucharist, rather than a miraculous change of the elements effected by a priest). Light is thrown upon Wyclif's view of the sacraments by the following charges made against him in ecclesiastical proceedings conducted in London and Constance. He was said to have claimed:

> That the material substance of bread and the material substance of wine remain in the Sacrament of the altar.
>
> That Christ is not in the Sacrament essentially and really, in his own corporeal presence.
>
> That it is not laid down in the Gospel that Christ ordained the Mass.
>
> That if a man be duly penitent any outward confession is superfluous and useless.
>
> That the confirmation of young men, the ordination of clerics, the

[14] Harold Laski in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, VIII, 633.

consecration of places are reserved for the Pope and bishops on account of the desire for temporal gain and honor.[15]

Wyclif himself died peacefully at Lutterworth in 1384, but his attack on transubstantiation had cost him many followers, including even John of Gaunt who, despite his immorality, prided himself upon his orthodoxy. The opposition to Wyclif's views was increased by conservative fears aroused by the peasant revolt of 1381. In 1382 the archbishop of Canterbury condemned twenty-four of Wyclif's teachings, and in 1415, well after Wyclif's death, the Council of Constance condemned Wyclif, ordered his writings burned, and directed his body to be removed from consecrated ground. While Lollardism continued as an underground movement with occasional popular revivals, Wyclif's impact upon English religious life in the period following his death was less apparent than his influence upon the religious life of the continent and, particularly, upon such reformers as John Hus in Bohemia and Martin Luther in Germany.

Religious Unrest in Bohemia. Reform, suppressed in England, next appeared in Bohemia, with John Hus as leader. The way it happened illustrates the interweaving of religion and politics. Anne of Bohemia (1363–1394), daughter of Emperor Charles IV and sister of Wenceslaus IV, King of Bohemia, had been married to Richard II of England in 1382. There she had witnessed and perhaps sympathized with Wyclif's attempt to free England from control of the Avignon popes. Numbers of Bohemian students followed the lead of their princess by going to England and studying at Oxford. They became familiar with the writings of Wyclif and upon their return to Bohemia brought copies of Wyclif's books with them. The writings of Wyclif found a ready response in Bohemia, where a reform movement had been in progress for some years, with outstanding preachers attacking the worldliness of the church. The movement had the favor of the emperor and, for a time, that of the archbishop.

John Hus (1373–1415), who became the outstanding leader of Czech reform, was born of peasant stock in the town of

[15] Bettenson, *Documents*, pp. 246–47.

Husinec in Bohemia. Originally, he called himself John of Husinec, but later shortened the name to Hus. He went to the university at Prague as a student about 1390, received his degree of bachelor of theology in 1393, his master of arts in 1396. In 1398 he began to teach in the university. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1401, but continued to do some teaching. In 1402 he was appointed preacher in the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague.

It was his preaching in the Bethlehem Chapel which made Hus the best known and most influential religious leader of his country. He preached in the Czech language and encouraged the singing of congregational hymns. Eminent persons in the court came to listen to his preaching and Queen Sophia appointed him to be her own chaplain.

Hus preached the need of moral and religious reform with a fervor which communicated itself to his hearers. Like Wyclif he harshly condemned the corruption of the Church and criticized the worldliness of the clergy, from papacy to parish priest. He knew Wyclif only from his writings, but recognized in him a kindred spirit. Hus took a more conservative position, theologically, never rejecting transubstantiation and giving more importance to the role of church tradition. However, he did agree with Wyclif in condemning the secularization of the church, as may be judged accurately from the later-written treatise on the church, *De Ecclesia.*

Trouble soon developed at the University of Prague because of a controversy over Wyclif. The university, like Bohemia itself, was divided between German and Czech elements, the German masters generally opposing Wyclif and the Bohemians for the most part, Hus among them, favoring the theological views of Wyclif. Twice (1403 and 1408) the German majority voted to condemn the theological writings of Wyclif. Then new causes of division arose with the Great Schism. Bohemia at first supported the Roman pope, Gregory XII (1406–1415), but the king, Wenceslaus, later adopted a policy of neutrality between the rival popes, supported in this by Hus and the Bohemian masters in the university.

Archbishop Zbynek, the German clergy, and the German element in the university continued to take the side of Gregory XII. In 1409 the king altered the constitution of Prague University, giving the Czech "nation" three votes in the governing body of the university, the Germans only one. The result of this was that the German masters withdrew and founded the University of Leipzig. Hus was now made rector of the University of Prague.

In the meantime the Council of Pisa had elected a third pope, Alexander V (1409–1410), whom Archbishop Zbynek now supported. Zbynek complained to Alexander about the spread of Wyclif's ideas in Bohemia and was authorized by Alexander to extirpate them. When Hus protested, he was excommunicated by the archbishop, an event which merely increased his popularity with the people. Hus also had the support of the king. When Alexander's successor, Pope John XXIII (1410–1415), offered indulgences for all those who took part in a crusade against the king of Naples, Hus protested. He was now inclined even more than before to find truth in Wyclif's views. He declared that payment of money could not guarantee forgiveness and, furthermore, that unless one were of the Elect, an indulgence could be of no value to a man. Also, now, he argued that disobedience to unrighteous demands of a pope were justified. This time Hus lost some of his support in the university, although he remained a hero to the populace.

Pope John XXIII now excommunicated Hus for the second time and pronounced an Interdict upon any city where he might reside. Upon the king's advice, Hus left Prague and remained in seclusion for two years, during which time he wrote his major work, *De Ecclesia*, which shows the strong influence of Wyclif on his thinking. When the Council of Constance opened in 1414, Sigismund, the German emperor and brother of Wenceslaus, wishing to clear Bohemia of the charge of heresy, urged Hus to attend the council, and promised him a safe-conduct. After his arrival, Sigismund, in order to find favor with the orthodox party in the council, withdrew his safe-conduct. Hus was placed in prison and

held for trial as a heretic. After a lengthy trial, during which Hus reiterated his acceptance of many of Wyclif's doctrines (although not Wyclif's denial of transubstantiation), Hus refused to recant and thus opposed his will to the authority and infallibility of the general council. Thereupon he was sentenced as a heretic and died at the stake by order of Sigismund, July 8, 1415.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

Thomas Aquinas on Faith and Reason[16]

[The Neo-Thomist philosopher Gilson gives the following classification of ideas on faith and reason: (1) Tertullianism, the complete self-sufficiency of revelation, decrying reason as a means to faith or knowledge; (2) Averroism, regarding revelation as a psychologically and sociologically desirable but logically unnecessary republication of the truths of reason; (3) Thomism, which values reason as preparatory to the reception of revelation; and (4) Augustinianism, which regards reason as dependent on faith. The following passage offers a good example of the Thomistic position.]

Whether it is necessary for Salvation to believe anything above the natural reason?

We proceed thus to the Third Article.

OBJECTION 1. Faith does not seem to be necessary for salvation. For the salvation and perfection of a thing seem to be sufficiently ensured by its natural endowments. Now matters of faith surpass man's natural endowments, since they are things unseen, as stated above.

OBJECTION 2. Further, it is dangerous for man to assent to matter, wherein he cannot judge whether that which is proposed to him be true or false: *Doth not the ear discern words* (Job 12:11)? Now a man cannot form a judgment of this kind in matters of faith, since he cannot trace them back to first principles, by which all our judgments are guided. Therefore it is dangerous to believe in such matters. Therefore to believe is not necessary to salvation.

[16] B. J. Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1941), pp. 168–170.

OBJECTION 3. Further, man's salvation rests on God: *But the salvation of the just is from the Lord. Now the invisible things of God are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made* (Ps. 36:39); *His eternal power also and Divinity* (Rom. 1:20), and that which is clearly seen by the understanding is not an object of belief. Therefore it is not necessary for man's salvation that he should believe certain things.

On the contrary, it is written: Without faith it is impossible to please God (Heb. 11:6).

I answer that wherever one nature is subordinate to another, we find that two things concur towards the perfection of the lower nature, one of these being in virtue of the proper motion of that nature, the other coming from the influence of the higher nature. Thus, water by its proper movement moves towards the centre (of the earth), while according to the movement of the moon, water is subject to the tidal motion about that centre. In like manner, the planets have their proper movements from west to east, while in accordance with the movement of the first heaven, they have a movement from east to west. Now the created rational nature alone is immediately subordinate to God, since other creatures do not attain to universal ideas, but only to something particular, while they partake of the divine goodness either in *being* only, as inanimate things, or also in *living*, and in *knowing individual things* as plants and animals; whereas the rational nature, inasmuch as it apprehends the universal notion of good and being, is immediately related to the universal of principle being.

Consequently the perfection of the rational creature consists not only in what belongs to it in respect of its nature, but also in that which it acquires supernaturally by becoming a beneficiary of the divine goodness. Hence it was said above that man's ultimate happiness consists in a supernatural vision of God: to which vision man cannot attain unless he be taught by God: *Everyone that hath heard of the Father and hath learned cometh to Me.* Now man gets the benefit of this learning, not indeed all at once, but little by little, according to the mode of his nature: and everyone who learns thus must needs believe, in order that he may acquire science in a perfect degree; thus also Aristotle says that *it behoves a learner to believe* (*De Soph. Elench.* 165b, 3).

Hence, in order that a man arrive at the perfect vision of heavenly happiness, he must first of all believe God, as a disciple believes the master who is teaching him.

REPLY OBJECTION 1. Since man's nature is dependent on a higher nature, natural knowledge does not suffice for its perfection, and some supernatural knowledge is necessary, as stated above.

REPLY OBJECTION 2. Just as man assents to first principles, by the natural light of his intellect, so does a virtuous man, by the habit of virtue, judge aright of things concerning that virtue; and in this way, by the light of faith which God bestows on him, a man assents to truths of faith and not to their contraries. Consequently *there is* no danger or *condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus,* and whom He has enlightened by faith.

REPLY OBJECTION 3. In many respects faith perceives the invisible things of God in a higher way than natural reason does in proceeding to God from His creatures. Hence it is written: *Many things are shewn to thee above the understanding of men* (Ecclus. 3:25).

Appendix B

The Bull *Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam,* November 18, 1302[17]

[Directed against Philip IV of France, who had cut off French revenues to Rome and imprisoned a papal legate, the bull defined papal claims in the strongest possible terms, but served only to exasperate Philip, who sent an agent to arrest Boniface.]

That there is one holy Church, Catholic and Apostolic, we are at the bidding of faith, compelled to believe and to hold: and of this Church we firmly believe and simply confess that outside it there is neither salvation nor remission of sins; . . . This one Church we venerate; for says the Lord by the prophet: *Deliver my soul from the sword; my darling from the power of the dog* (Ps. 22:20). For His soul, i.e. for Himself, head and body, He prays; meaning by His body the one Church; one because of the bridegroom, the faith, the sacraments, the charity of the Church. This is that seamless coat of the Lord (John 19:23), which was not rent but assigned by lot. So that of that one and only Church there is but one body; one head, not two heads, like a monster; i.e. Christ, and Christ's Vicar, Peter, and Peter's successor; as the Lord says to Peter, *Feed my sheep* (John 21:17); mine, He says, and not just these, or those; so making it clear that all were committed to him. Whether therefore the Greeks or others say that they were not committed to Peter and his successors, they must needs confess that they are not of the sheep of Christ . . .

. . . In this Church, and in her power are, as we are told in the words of the Gospel, *two swords* (Luke 22:38), viz. the spiritual and the temporal. For when the apostles said, Behold, here are *two* swords, i.e. in the Church, the Lord did not answer, It is too many, but *It is enough.* He who denies that the temporal sword is in the

[17] Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church,* pp. 185–86.

power of Peter misunderstands the word of the Lord when He says *Put up thy sword into the sheath* (Matt. 26:52). Both therefore are in the power of the Church, both the spiritual and the material sword. But the latter is to be used on behalf of the Church, the former by the Church; the former by the hand of the priest, the latter by the hand of kings and knights; but at the bidding and by the forebearance of the priest. . . . For the temporal power ought to be subject to the spiritual power. . . . For as truth itself testifies, it belongs to the spiritual power to institute the earthly power; and, if it be not good, to judge it. . . . Whosoever therefore resisteth this power ordained of God, resisteth the ordinance of God. . . . Therefore we declare, state, define and pronounce that for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pope is altogether necessary for salvation.

Appendix C

Reservations Decreed by Pope John XXII (1316–34)[18]

[When John XXII ascended the papal throne in Avignon, the Church faced a financial crisis caused by the loss of many Italian revenues and the cost of wars in which John XXII participated. This led him to institute new sources of revenue, such as annates, reservations, and expectancies.]

As is the duty of the pastoral office, to us, though all unworthy, committed by supernal disposition, we propose to take salutary measures against the danger to souls and the expenses of churches and monasteries, which are wont often to happen owing to long vacancies, by means of suitable remedies, so far as is permitted to us from on high, in order that provision may be made quickly and profitably for the said churches and monasteries, and that due honour may be paid to the Roman Church, which is recognized to have obtained by divine providence the supremacy over churches and monasteries. We therefore, following the footsteps of our predecessors Boniface VIII and Clement V who reserved for apostolic provision, under certain conditions, churches and monasteries which fell vacant at the Apostolic See, for reasonable causes which moved our mind thereto and by the advice of our brethren . . . do reserve by apostolic authority for provision by us episcopal sees and sees superior to them, monasteries and churches of Regulars . . . as well as ecclesiastical benefices, with or without cure, which do or shall fall vacant at the Apostolic See, so long as the mercy of God shall deign to maintain us in charge of the governance of the universal Church, his bride . . .

[18] Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church*, p. 189.

Appendix D

The *Sacrosancta* Decree of the Council of Constance, 1415[19]

[The schism in the papacy, with one pope in Avignon and another in Rome, led some reformers to suggest the holding of a general council as a way of healing the schism and instituting both moral and administrative reforms within the Church. The Council of Constance succeeded in healing the schism, but the new pope it had named declared that the papacy was superior to the councils in authority and was alone responsible for reform of the church.]

This holy synod of Constance, being a general council, and legally assembled in the Holy Spirit for the praise of God and for ending the present schism, and for the union and reformation of the church of God in its head and in its members, in order more easily, more securely, more completely, and more fully to bring about the union and reformation of the church of God, ordains, declares, and decrees as follows: And first it declares that this synod, legally assembled, is a general council, and represents the catholic church militant and has its authority directly from Christ; and everybody of whatever rank or dignity, including also the pope, is bound to obey this council in those things which pertain to the faith, to the ending of this schism, and to a general reformation of the church in its head and members. Likewise it declares that if anyone, of whatever rank, condition, or dignity, including also the pope, shall refuse to obey the commands, statutes, ordinances, or orders of this holy council, or of any other holy council properly assembled, in regard to the ending of the schism and to the reformation of the church, he shall be subject to the proper punishment; and unless he repents, he shall be duly punished; and if necessary, recourse shall be had to other aids of justice.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Illustrate the manner in which social changes in the Middle Ages created a need for a restatement of theology.
2. What solution to the problem of faith versus reason was offered by Thomas Aquinas? See both text and Appendix A.
3. What were some factors contributing to the decline of the papacy in the late Middle Ages?

[19] O. J. Thatcher and Edgar H. McNeal, *A Source Book for Medieval History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), pp. 328–29.

4. Describe the political and religious consequences of the Great Schism.
5. What was the Conciliar Movement? Note its purpose as stated in the Sacrosancta decree? See Appendix D.
6. Why call certain lay religious movements of the twelfth century "proto-Protestant"?
7. What were Wyclif's basic teachings?
8. What was there about Wyclif's view of the sacraments, and particularly the doctrine of transubstantiation, which aroused so much opposition?
9. In what respects did John Hus follow Wyclif's teachings? What is meant by saying that he was theologically more conservative than Wyclif, at least in one respect?

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

BAINTON, ROLAND H. *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century.* Boston: The Beacon Press, 1952. The Introduction (pp. 3–21) gives an excellent brief survey of the entire Middle Ages and movements leading both to the Protestant and to the Catholic Reformations of the sixteenth century.

DEANESLY, MARGARET. *A History of the Medieval Church, 590–1500.* London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1925. The following chaps. are particularly relevant to the period under discussion: xiii, "The Scholastic Philosophy: S. Thomas Aquinas"; xiv, "The Avignon Popes: The Curia: and the Schism"; xvii, "Medieval Heresy and the Inquisition" (Wyclif, pp. 228–234); xviii, "The Conciliar Movement."

JONES, RUFUS M. *Studies in Mystical Religion.* London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1909. The following chaps. give a sympathetic account of lay religious movements in the later Middle Ages: xi, "Brotherhood Groups in the Thirteenth Century"; xiii, "The Friends of God"; xiv, "The Brethren of the Common Life." Chap. xv deals with "The Pre-Reformation in England—Wyclif and the Lollards."

PASTOR, LUDWIG. *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages.* 36 vols. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1902–1950. Official history of the Church. Relatively objective. The material on the Avignon popes bears on the period under discussion.

PREVITÉ-ORTON, C. W. *The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History.* Vol. II. Cambridge: University Press, 1952. See chap. xxxii on "The Great Schism and the Conciliar Movement."

Chapter 18

THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION

LUTHER AND HIS PREDECESSORS. The religious reform movements which swept over Europe in the late Middle Ages had much in common. They shared a common concern for a greater biblical emphasis in religion, an interest stimulated by the revival of learning, which included study of the original languages of the Bible. In England the whole Bible had been made available in the vernacular through Wyclif's activity. In Germany Martin Luther translated the whole Bible into a vigorous vernacular German which helped to shape the developing German language as well as to foment a religious revolution. Wyclif, Hus, and Luther all preached in the vernacular tongue as well as in Latin—a practice that was to mark a significant trend in religious life, the emergence of the laity and a greater degree of lay participation and influence in religious life. Wyclif, well before Luther, had opposed the theory of transubstantiation. Hus did not follow Wyclif in this respect, but like him he did develop the theory of the Church as consisting only of the Elect, with Christ as its true head rather than the pope. Wyclif, Hus, and Luther all attacked indulgences. All three condemned the worldliness of the clergy.

There is one fundamental difference, however, between Luther and his predecessors. Whereas Wyclif and Hus and other leaders of reform movements had made a primarily negative protest against the abuses of the Church, there was a new and positive principle as the basis of the Lutheran reform, namely, Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone. This was something which had been wrought out of an intense, inward struggle within Luther's own life and which represented a different understanding of Christian faith from that on which the Church of Rome was based. In the be-

ginning Luther had thought of himself as a religious reformer working within the framework of the Church. In the end it became clear to all that the Lutheran reform was really a religious revolution.

A Primarily Religious Reform. The key to a proper understanding of the Lutheran revolt is recognition of its basically religious character. This is not to deny other contributory factors, economic, political, moral, and intellectual. The political factor was particularly important; all the religious reform movements of the late Middle Ages were closely related to the rise of nationalism, and success or failure depended largely upon political support. Wyclif gained temporary support from the political leaders of his day, though there was in the end no national revolution. The Hussite movement, which turned into a national rebellion, was eventually crushed by a combination of political and religious forces. Lutheranism was accompanied, on the other hand, by a national revolution which succeeded. Nevertheless, the Lutheran Reformation was not mainly an expression of religious nationalism; this can be seen from the fact that it was much more than a merely German reform. For a time the Lutheran movement gained strong support in Italy and many other parts of Europe, and the reform leaders clearly aimed at the winning of all Europe. And, indeed, before Luther died his reform had spread from central Germany to include part of southern and all of northern Germany, and, in addition, the Scandinavian and the Baltic states.

The Young Luther. Martin Luther was born November 10, 1483, in Eisleben in the northern German state of Saxony. His father, Hans, came of hardy Thuringian peasant stock, but not being the eldest son he inherited no land and turned to copper mining, in which he eventually became moderately prosperous. Six months after Martin's birth, Hans Luther moved his family to Mansfeld, and it was in this small town of north-central Germany, in a religious atmosphere combining crude superstition with naive religious belief, that Martin Luther grew to adolescence. One religious picture which made a deep impression upon the growing boy de-

picted Christ sitting on a rainbow sternly judging the world.[1] Martin entered the municipal Latin school when he was only four or five years of age. In his fourteenth year, 1496–97, his family moved to Magdeburg where young Luther probably attended a school conducted by the Brethren of the Common Life, or perhaps the nearby cathedral school. After a year in Magdeburg, Luther went to Eisenach, located in the region from which his parents had come and where he had many relatives. Here at St. George's School he received his preparation for the university. Toward the end of April, 1501, Luther, then eighteen, entered the University of Erfurt, extant records showing that he was registered as "Martinus Luther of Mansfeldt." He received his bachelor's degree from Erfurt and his master of arts degree on January 5, 1505, and, in accordance with a promise required of him before his graduation, entered April 24 on what was to have been a two-year period of teaching in the faculty of philosophy. At about the same time he began a program of study in the faculty of law, in accordance with his father's wishes.

However, an event with major implications intervened to change the course of his life. While returning to Erfurt in early July from his home in Mansfeld, where he had vacationed, Luther was thrown to the ground by a thunderbolt during an electrical storm. Terror-stricken, he offered a vow, saying, "Help me, St. Anne, and I will become a monk." His life spared, on July 17 Martin Luther applied for admission to the Augustinian cloister in Erfurt, and in September was received as a novice.[2] In later years Luther was fond of retelling the story of his conversion and liked to heighten the miraculous aspects of the experience. It is safe to assume, however, that his conversion had been preceded by a long process of subconscious preparation and that the vision of St. Anne was but the culmination of many changes within the man.

[1] R. H. Fife, *The Revolt of Martin Luther* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1957), p. 13.

[2] Heinrich Boehmer, *Luther and the Reformation in the Light of Modern Research* (New York: The Dial Press, 1930), pp. 352–53.

FROM MONK TO REFORMER. The years between 1505 and 1512 were formative ones, religiously, for Luther. The first of them were spent at the Erfurt monastery, where, after a year's novitiate, he was admitted successively to the ranks of sub-deacon, deacon, and, in 1507, to that of priest. Then he was encouraged to begin the study of theology at the Augustinian school for advanced study located in the monastery at Erfurt. In the autumn of 1508 Luther was called to Wittenberg to occupy the chair of moral philosophy, which involved lecturing on the ethics of Aristotle, and continued his studies in theology. Here at Wittenberg Luther became acquainted, although probably not as yet intimately, with Johann von Staupitz, vicar-general of the Augustinian order in Saxony, who was to become his confessor, friend, and mentor. By the end of the year 1509 Luther succeeded in passing his examination in the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, the standard medieval textbook in theology, but before he could be officially installed as lecturer he was recalled to Erfurt. After some initial difficulties at Erfurt, Luther was accepted as lecturer and proceeded to expound Peter Lombard's *Sentences* until the fall of 1510. In the late autumn of 1510 he was sent to Rome as the second member of a two-man commission on business of the Augustinian order and spent nearly all of January, 1511, in Rome. In 1512 he was back in Wittenberg, where he became sub-prior of the monastery, was promoted in academic rank to doctor of theology, and was given the heavy responsibility of lecturing on the Bible. From 1513 to 1515 he expounded the Psalms; the Book of Romans occupied his attention in 1518, and thereafter, Galatians, Hebrews, and Titus.

ILLUMINATION IN THE TOWER. It was sometime during the period between October 22, 1512, and July 8, 1513, that Luther experienced what he himself described as the "illumination in the Tower." After he had been made doctor of theology, Luther had been given a study in the tower of the old Wittenberg monastery. Luther later described in an autobiographical preface to the first volume of his collected works what had happened in his tower-study. He said "it

was as if the gates of Paradise had opened wide before [me]."[3] Luther described this experience also in some of his earlier writings. In one of his sermons he wrote: "When I became a Doctor (18th or 19th October 1512), I did not yet know the Light."[4] Similarly, in Luther's *Table Talk* one finds the following sentence: "In this tower, in the Black Monastery at Wittenberg, the Holy Ghost imparted to me this understanding."[5]

How is one to explain the new understanding which came to Luther? The key is probably to be found in Luther's urgent need of forgiveness of sins. This need was rooted in his understanding of God as an unmerciful Judge implacably demanding righteousness of man, and inflexibly distributing rewards and punishments. It should not be thought, however, that this was merely Martin Luther's way of viewing God and the world. It was the view of the medieval Church. Church instruction in the Middle Ages relied heavily upon the fear of Hell and the hope of Heaven, with Purgatory a middle ground where the soul might purify itself as a preparation for Paradise. If Luther differed from others, it was in the degree of his religious sensitivity, rather than in the fear of God's judgment.

The Church of the Middle Ages had various methods of dealing with man's sinful condition and giving him assurance of forgiveness. The first was asceticism, which has been called the "way of self-help."[6] Asceticism, with its subordination of self, is the essence of monastic life. The Augustinian monks at Erfurt gave themselves primarily to spiritual exercises, such as singing, prayer, and ascetic practices. As a novice Luther carried austerities to such an extreme that his spiritual director had to restrain him. Later, in his religious zeal, Luther threw caution to the winds and nearly ruined his health. "If I had kept on any longer, I should

[3] Boehmer, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] R. H. Bainton, *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1952), p. 28.

have killed myself with vigils, prayers, reading, and other work."[7]

The second way the Church had of assuring salvation for sinners was the use of the sacraments, especially the sacrament of penance and the accompanying confession. Both at Erfurt and at Wittenberg Luther must have been a trial to his spiritual mentors because of his constant anxiety about the state of his soul and his desire to confess all of his sins, even though he had made a general confession upon his reception into the order. At Wittenberg, Staupitz, who was his confessor as well as friend, gave Luther much comfort and good advice, but perhaps the best thing he did for Luther was to order him to complete his doctorate in theology, lecture on the Bible, and become a preacher. Luther was aghast at such words, but obeyed them and in so doing was greatly aided in his own struggle through his attempt to help others by teaching and preaching.

The third way to attain salvation known to the Church was the way of the mystics. During his monastery days Luther had become acquainted with a varied array of mystics, from Dionysius the Areopagite down to the fourteenth-century German Dominicans. John Tauler and the anonymous author of the *Theologia Germanica* (The German Theology) particularly impressed Luther. Luther could appreciate the mystical way of salvation with its ascent and hope of union with God. He states that he once tried to achieve such a union with God and experienced a kind of rapture, but no direct union with the Godhead. Staupitz, who had himself written a book of mystical devotion entitled *On the Love of God,* used his influence to turn Luther's thoughts away from introspection toward the love of God as revealed in the life and death of Christ. And in the end Luther abandoned the mystics, probably because of the pantheistic tendencies in their writings which conflicted with his own experience and understanding of God and human sin.

[7] Quoted in Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1950), p. 45.

The books Luther read as student and teacher reveal the trend of his thinking. The Bible became the major influence upon his thought, although it is amazing to discover that until the age of twenty Luther had never seen a complete edition of the Bible.[8] In the Erfurt monastery he was given a Latin Bible for devotional purposes which he "read eagerly and learned devoutly and zealously." The theological reading Luther did at Erfurt was stamped by the viewpoint of William of Occam, the Scholastic philosopher, with his emphasis upon the ability of man to do whatever he wills, obey the Ten Commandments to the letter, love God with all his heart, mind, and soul, and achieve all desirable moral attitudes merely by willing them. As a lecturer on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* at Erfurt, Luther carefully worked through bulky commentaries on the *Sentences* by Biel, d'Ailly, and Occam, all of which confirmed the Occamist theology. Before leaving Erfurt, Luther was reading Augustine, but this had not yet affected his Occamist viewpoint. He was also beginning the study of Hebrew, in order that he might read the Old Testament in its original tongue. At Wittenberg even with his lecturing and preaching Luther found time for reading, particularly Augustine's *On the Trinity* and *The City of God.* Since his reception into the Augustinian order, he had of course been reading the Bible daily, and he continued to do so. By this time Luther had taught himself both Hebrew and Greek, which enabled him to go directly to the Old and New Testaments in their original languages. Staupitz had helped him with an emphasis upon the grace of God as revealed in the Cross of Christ, although as a Thomist Staupitz believed that a man could not be saved by God's grace alone but that the work of Christ must be completed by the merit of the individual. Augustine's thoughts about predestination began to replace Occam's influence upon Luther, but it was the study and teaching of the books of the Bible that helped Luther to see the "Light."

[8] Heinrich Boehmer, *Road to Reformation* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1930), p. 30.

Luther's account of what happened in the tower is the story of his first encounter with the Apostle Paul. He tells us that he had always longed to understand the Apostle, but had been frightened away by the phrase "righteousness of God" in Romans 1:16–17. He had interpreted this to mean justice, in terms of rewards and punishments. He had always understood this to mean that the God of the New Testament, like the God of the Old Testament, was an angry, unmerciful Judge. Then, after prolonged meditation, it occurred to him to connect the words "the righteousness of God" with the phrase in Romans 1:17, "for the just shall live by faith." "And on a sudden it became clear to him what the Apostle meant: not the righteousness which distributes punishment and reward, but that which by grace bestows absolution; that was the 'righteousness of God.' "[9] The essence of Christianity thus becomes implicit trust in God's forgiving love, and the end of a faith based upon fear. Luther's discovery was a highly personal one, deeply rooted in his own individual experience. It had revolutionary implications, moreover, since this new emphasis upon spiritual inwardness "left no room for the elaborate hierarchical and sacramental structure of the Middle Ages."[10]

THE INDULGENCE CONTROVERSY. The spark that ignited the Lutheran Reformation was the controversy over the sale of indulgences, a conflict precipitated by the activities of John Tetzel, a Dominican friar who was in charge of the collection of funds for the building of the new Church of St. Peter in Rome. But before we can evaluate Luther's protest in 1517 against Tetzel's preaching of indulgences, it is necessary to have some understanding of Catholic theory relating to indulgences.

According to Roman Catholic teaching, sin involves guilt before God and requires both eternal punishment at God's

[9] Boehmer, *Luther and the Reformation in the Light of Modern Research*, p. 46.

[10] Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church* (rev. ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), p. 302.

hands and temporal punishment either on earth or in purgatory. The sacrament of penance can remove guilt and eternal punishment, while temporal punishment may be commuted by indulgences. The official teaching of the Roman Catholic Church on the subject of indulgences was not given authoritative statement until the Bull *Unigenitus,* promulgated by Pope Clement VI in 1483, although there had been much earlier discussion by the schoolmen.[11] The concept of the "treasury of merit" is defined in this bull and it is made clear that remission of sins applies to temporal sins or the temporal punishment of sins only, not to eternal punishment. The saints, the Virgin Mary, and especially Christ have accumulated credits far beyond their own needs for salvation. These are available to the faithful for the remission of penalty for sins, and are dispensed through the Church and primarily through the popes as successors to Peter, to whom Christ gave the keys of the Kingdom and the powers of binding and loosing. Such is the basic theory of indulgences, but in Luther's day there were certain ambiguities of interpretation and abuses in practice which remained uncorrected until the Council of Trent, which did not complete its work until after Luther's death.

The immediate cause of Luther's protest in 1517 was the extravagance of claims being made for an indulgence proclaimed by Albert of Brandenburg (1490–1545). Albert had been made Archbishop-Elector of Mainz in 1514, at a time when he already held two other bishoprics and in spite of the fact that he was only twenty-four years old, six years less than the minimum age for a bishop. Albert had paid heavily for his privileges, a large annates fee for each of his three sees, plus a pallium tax for the archbishopric. The total cost of the archbishopric of Mainz, the most important religious appointment in Germany, came to 21,000 ducats. Albert, as it happened, was the fourth archbishop of Mainz to be appointed within a period of ten years and thus this was the fourth attempt in less than a decade to raise the sum of 21,000 ducats from the now poverty-stricken district. An ad-

[11] See Appendix A for the Bull *Unigenitus,* 1483.

ditional fee of 10,000 ducats was levied upon Albert in view of the multiplication of offices in his hands. In compensation for these heavy expenditures, Albert was promised by the Roman curia that the Pope would grant him the privilege of selling indulgences in the dioceses of Mainz and Brandenburg, half of the money to go to the banking house of Fugger, which had loaned Albert the money needed for his payments to Rome, and the other half to go to Rome for the construction of the new Church of St. Peter.

The plan was carried out in 1517 and the campaign was brought very close to the borders of the territories of the Elector of Saxony, although the actual proclamation of indulgences was forbidden there. The preaching of indulgences was under the vigorous direction of John Tetzel, prior of a Dominican monastery in Leipzig, a man of wide experience in this kind of work. A contemporary description of the proceedings has been preserved,[12] although the accuracy of the report has been questioned. A circular letter Tetzel supplied to parish priests explaining the benefits offered and his sermon notes given to these priests have been preserved.[13] Authoritative information about the machinery of indulgences may be found in instructions provided by Albert of Mainz.[14]

Tetzel's most flagrant error in preaching the indulgence had to do with the benefits for the souls of the dead. "Can you not hear the voices of your dead father and mother pleading with you?", Tetzel bade the parish priests say to their people. "'A tiny alms,' they are saying, 'and we shall be free from this torment. And you grudge this to us.'" Indulgences for the souls of the dead were relatively new, the earliest one known to us originating with Sixtus IV in 1476. However, such indulgences were supposed to be nothing more than solemn prayers for the dead. Tetzel, nevertheless, gave a different interpretation, that indulgences for the dead took effect immediately, as soon as the "good work," that is, the alms, had been completed. The following bit of doggerel

[12] See Appendix B.
[13] See Appendix C.
[14] See Appendix D.

was attributed to Tetzel and is at least consistent with what he was preaching:

> When clinking coin the cash-bell rings
> The soul from purging fires springs.

The instructions provided by Albert, now Archbishop of Mainz, supplement our fragmentary knowledge of Tetzel's promises. These list the spiritual results that would be gained by purchasing indulgences: (1) complete remission of all sins, including punishment in purgatory, after absolution by a confessor of the sinner's own choice; (2) eternal participation in the merits of the saints both for purchasers of indulgences and for their dead; and (3) complete remission of all sins for the souls of the dead in purgatory, without requirement of contrition or confession. The instructions conclude on a businesslike note: "Preachers shall exert themselves to give this grace the widest publicity, since through the same, help will surely come to departed souls, and the construction of the church of St. Peter will be abundantly promoted at the same time . . ."[15]

THE NINETY-FIVE THESES. On the Eve of All Saints in 1517 Luther posted the famous Ninety-five Theses on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg. His purpose was simply to call for a disputation, in accordance with scholarly custom of the Middle Ages. Luther's own thinking had not as yet crystallized; consequently the theses were set forth as tentative criticisms. Only in later controversies was Luther pushed to the point where it became clear to him and others that his views were revolutionary in their implications, rather than a call to reform.

The opening theses were religiously the most significant, although at the time they received least attention:

> Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, in saying "Repent ye" etc., meant the whole life of the faithful to be an act of repentance.
>
> This saying cannot be understood of the sacrament of penance (i.e. of confession and absolution) which is administered by the priesthood.

[15] J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1906), II, 53 ff.

Yet he does not mean interior repentance only; nay, interior repentance is void if it does not externally produce different kinds of mortification of the flesh.

And so penance remains while self-hate remains (i.e. true interior penitence); namely right up to entrance into the kingdom of heaven.[16]

True repentance, Luther claims in these theses, is an inward thing. People who are sincerely repentant of sins should be ready to suffer for them in purgatory. It is suffering and the ensuing repentance which bring the redeemed sinner to the gates of heaven. The danger of indulgences is that they create a sense of smugness and complacency about the sinner's spiritual condition. Indulgences then are of little or no value to the sinner in search of salvation. The whole life of the faithful should be a continuous act of repentance. At the time when Luther made these claims about the baneful effects of the sale of indulgences upon the spiritual life of the times, he was preaching regularly in the local parish church. "It is well to remind ourselves," writes an American Lutheran historian, "that the Reformation began in Germany when Luther became concerned about his own parishioners who believed that if they had purchased letters of indulgence they were sure of their salvation."[17]

A second basic criticism contained in the theses was aimed at the promises relating to the souls of the dead. The pope does well, said Luther, to intercede for souls in purgatory. But, in theses 27 and 28, he condemned Tetzel for a flagrant abuse of the doctrine of indulgences in making such extravagant promises of spiritual rewards for material offerings:

Those who assert that a soul straightway flies out (of purgatory) as a coin tinkles in the collection-box, are preaching an invention of man.

It is sure that when a coin tinkles greed and avarice are increased; but the intercession of the Church is in the will of God alone.[18]

[16] Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1947), pp. 263–264.

[17] T. G. Tappert, *Luther: Letters of Spiritual Counsel* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1955), p. 13.

[18] Bettenson, *Documents*, p. 265.

A third charge was levied against the exploitation of German Christians by the Italian hierarchy. Here, no doubt, Luther spoke as a German patriot, but he had moral and religious grounds of protest as well. It is noteworthy that he still exempts the pope from responsibility and places the blame upon the papal court. This is stated most clearly in thesis 50:

> Christians must be taught that if the pope knew the exactions of the preachers of indulgences he would rather have St. Peter's basilica reduced to ashes than built with the skin, flesh, and bones of his sheep.[19]

Aftermath of the Indulgence Controversy. The posting of the theses touched off a chain reaction of events. The interest of the whole German nation was aroused, from the exploited peasantry at one end of the social scale to the civil rulers, who had long been opposed to the draining of funds from Germany to Italy, at the other end. The sale of indulgences fell off sharply. Archbishop Albert did not come directly to the aid of Tetzel against Luther, because he did not wish to offend the powerful Augustinian order. He did, however, complain to the pope and accompanied his letter not only with a copy of the Ninety-five Theses but with a number of other writings by Luther as well. He also charged Luther with the fabrication of new doctrines. The pope requested the general of the Augustinian order to "wean Brother Martin of his thirst for innovation and silence him," but at the same time tried to propitiate the Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, by bestowing special privileges upon him. Luther, however, refused to recant and, to make matters worse, the Elector chose to protect Luther against the ecclesiastical authorities. The only punishment meted out to Luther by the Elector was the requirement that he write a defense of his position to be sent to Rome. This was the occasion of Luther's *Resolutions on the Ninety-five Theses*, which he sent to the Pope with a letter in which he said, "I cannot recant."

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 267.

Matters might have gone no further, had not the Dominicans, rivals of the Augustinians, pressed the issue. The Saxon Dominicans had already promoted Tetzel to doctoral rank, thus giving him the right to publish writings in his own defense. The Dominicans now proceeded to denounce Luther to the Roman curia, not for issuing new doctrines, but for suspected heresy. This resulted, in July, 1518, in Luther's being called to Rome to face charges of suspected heresy and undermining papal authority. Here again the Elector of Saxony came to Luther's support, insisting that the hearing be held not in Rome, but in Augsburg, and that Luther not be dealt with as a heretic. Luther went to Augsburg and appeared before the papal legate, Cajetan, but again refused to recant. No action was taken against Luther, however, perhaps because there was not sufficient evidence to name him a heretic. Yet a few months later Leo X issued a bull, *Cum postquam,* in which indulgences were defined in exactly the sense opposed by Luther. The issue was now clearly joined. Any hope of religious agreement with Rome had vanished.

THE LEIPZIG DISPUTATION. The year 1519 is notable for the disputation at Leipzig which made the break with Rome inevitable. Late in 1518 it had appeared that the conflict might be smoothed over as a result of the mediation of Karl von Miltitz, the papal chamberlain. Miltitz, a Saxon himself, had been made a papal nuncio in October, 1518, and sent on a mission of conciliation to the Elector of Saxony. The prospect of electing a new emperor of the Holy Roman Empire was clearly imminent, in view of the failing health of Maximilian (who died in January, 1519), and it was important for Leo X to insure the good will of the Elector Frederick, one of the seven princes who would choose the new emperor. Indeed, in the eyes of the pope, the Saxon Elector was himself a possible, even desirable, candidate. It was under these circumstances that Miltitz brought with him to Altenburg, where the Elector was spending the Christmas season, the Golden Rose which had been conferred upon Frederick and which carried with it lucrative powers relating to indul-

gences and absolution in the All Saints Church of Wittenberg. Miltitz conferred with Spalatin, the Elector's chaplain, and with Frederick himself, and then decided that it would be necessary to conciliate Luther. He proceeded to discredit Tetzel and then, in an interview held January 6, 1519, in the home of Spalatin, persuaded Luther to write a submissive letter to the pope.

At this crucial point, however, a new attack was made on Luther by the Dominican John Eck, Professor of Theology at Ingolstadt, and the most famous apologist for Catholic orthodoxy of the day. Carlstadt, Luther's colleague at Wittenberg, had argued against Eck that the authority of the Bible was to be preferred to the authority of the Church. Eck had challenged Carlstadt to a public disputation and Luther, meeting with Eck as Carlstadt's representative, had arranged for the debate to be held at Leipzig. In December, 1518, Eck attacked Carlstadt with twelve theses, calling him Luther's champion, and Luther, now finding himself involved in the controversy in spite of himself, replied with twelve theses of his own. Eck now expanded his twelve theses to thirteen and Luther did likewise, while Carlstadt announced seventeen propositions. The disputation was held in June and July, 1519, in the castle of Duke George on the outskirts of Leipzig. Eck debated with Carlstadt about grace and free will on June 27–28 and with Luther concerning the primacy of the pope on July 4–8. Accounts of the disputation have come from Eck and Luther as well as from an impartial onlooker. The jubilant tone of Eck's report shows that he considered the outcome a clear-cut victory for himself. Carlstadt proved not to be a skillful disputant, but Luther spoke with force and deep conviction. It is worth noting that when the disputation was over, a large number of students from the University of Leipzig journeyed to Wittenberg to enroll as students there. However, Eck was successful in forcing Luther into clear-cut opposition to the teachings and practices of the Roman Church. Luther had denied the supremacy of the pope, had rejected the infallibility of councils, and had admitted the similarity of some of

his views to those of Hus. Indeed, Luther declared that the teachings of Hus—who had been declared a heretic—were, in Luther's opinion, "most Christian and evangelical" (Eck's version). Final authority, Luther declared, lay only in the Scriptures. Thus Leipzig became for Luther the point of no return.

THREE REFORMATION TREATISES. In the year 1520 Luther joined the issue squarely with Rome by publishing five tracts, of which three will be discussed here. Luther's appeal "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation" was inspired by the election of Charles V as emperor, following the death of Maximilian. Charles V was of German blood and said to be sympathetic toward reform, although his later actions proved this to be an illusion. Under these circumstances Luther penned an appeal in the German language "to the young and noble sovereign" through whom "God has roused great hopes in many hearts." The "Christian Nobility" were also included in the dedication of the treatise, as a result, perhaps, of encouragement Luther had been given by some of the German knights. This address to the German nation was written over a period of several months and contains a wide variety of subject matter, including fifty-seven articles for the reformation of Christendom, but its basic religious ideas are contained in the introductory account of the "three walls" the Romanists have built and Luther's "tearing down" of these walls.

> The Romanists have with great dexterity built themselves about with three walls, which hitherto have protected them against reform; and thereby is Christianity fearfully fallen.
>
> In the first place, when the temporal power has pressed them hard, they have affirmed and maintained that the temporal power has no jurisdiction over them—that, on the contrary, the spiritual is above the temporal.
>
> Secondly, when it was proposed to admonish them from the Holy Scriptures they said, "It beseems no one but the pope to interpret the Scriptures."
>
> And, thirdly, when they were threatened with a council, they invented the idea that no one but the pope can call a council.[20]

[20] Robinson, *Readings in European History*, II, 75.

In his attack on the first wall, Luther denied the existence of two estates, one spiritual—including pope, bishops, priests, and monks—and the other temporal—with princes, lords, artisans, and peasants. All Christians, rather, belong to one spiritual estate. A priest is a layman with a special function to perform. All Christians are alike and each man has a calling, whatever that may be. "This is because we have one baptism, one gospel, one faith, and are all Christians alike; for baptism, gospel, and faith, these alone make spiritual and Christian folk." Furthermore, since it is the calling of the temporal authority to protect the good and restrain the wicked, it is the duty of the civil rulers to exercise discipline, even if this touches popes, bishops, priests, monks, and nuns. There is no wall that removes the spiritual authority from the jurisdiction of the temporal authority, when the latter is performing the duties of its office.

The second wall is the papal claim of sole authority to interpret the Scriptures. Luther met this claim not by asserting the superiority of humanist scholarship to papal interpretation, but by affirming the capacity of the true believer of whatever station in life to understand the meaning of the Bible. Luther quotes the Bible to prove that "all Christians shall be taught of God" (John 6:45). A lay believer may have a truer understanding of the word of God than an impious pope. "Even so Balaam's ass was wiser than the prophet himself. If God has spoken against a prophet through an ass, why should he not still speak through a good man against the pope?"

The third wall—that the pope alone has the right to call a council—falls of itself as soon as the first two walls have fallen. The priesthood of all believers means actually that anyone has a right to call a council, but it would be particularly appropriate for the civil power to act in this type of situation.

The next treatise, "On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church," written in September, 1520, was in Latin and addressed to the theologians. Its radicalism shocked some of those who had welcomed the earlier tract. Here Luther

made a frontal attack upon the sacramental system, on which the authority of the medieval church was based. Luther denied, on the basis of Scripture, that there are seven sacraments. There are, instead, only two, baptism and the Lord's Supper. Luther held baptism in high respect and did not reject infant baptism. Yet baptism was to be regarded as coming from God in fulfillment of the promise, "He who believes and is baptized shall be saved." Baptism is not an act of man, another one of the "works," along with fasting, almsgiving, pilgrimages, and the like, to which so much misdirected attention was already given. The importance of baptism was as a sign of inward repentance and of God's promise of forgiveness of sins in response to faith.

Concerning the Lord's Supper, Luther spoke of three ways in which Rome had carried the Church into captivity. The first lay in denying the Lord's Supper in both kinds (bread and wine) to the laity, a practice which has no authority in the Bible. This sacrament is intended for all, and not for the priests alone.

The second captivity in relation to the Lord's Supper had to do with transubstantiation, "which must be considered as an invention of human reason, since it is based neither on Scripture nor sound reasoning."

> Why could not Christ confine his body within the substance of bread, just as in the accidents? Fire and iron are two substances; yet they are so mingled in red-hot iron (ferro ignito) that any part is at once iron and fire. What prevents the glorious body of Christ from being in every part of the substance of bread?[21]

Luther did not absolutely reject the theory of transubstantiation as long as its origin in human reason was recognized, but himself believed in what is usually called consubstantiation, by which he meant the real presence of Christ in the elements of bread and wine.

The third captivity lay in the fact that the Lord's Supper is interpreted as a good work.

> This abuse has brought an endless flood of other abuses, until faith in the sacrament has been utterly extinguished and a divine sacra-

[21] Bettenson, *Documents* p. 280.

ment has been turned into an article of trade, the subject of bargaining and business deals. Hence arise fellowships, fraternities, intercessions, merits, anniversaries, memorials; and such like pieces of business are bought and sold, and contracts and bargains are made about them. The entire maintenance of priests and monks depends on such things . . .[22]

Luther did not categorically reject the other five sacraments, and he found some good features in certain of them. But he denied that scriptural authority existed for them and thought they ought not to be given the status of sacraments.

The third great Reformation tract of the year 1520 appeared only two weeks after that on the Babylonian Captivity. It was called "On Christian Liberty" and was published at the very time when the papal bull of excommunication was being circulated in Germany. As a result of a final attempt by Miltitz to mediate between the pope and Luther, this third treatise was intended to be more conciliatory than the two preceding and was accompanied by a covering letter for the pope himself. The letter described Leo as not "Leo the Lion" but as "Daniel in the Lion's Den," thus shifting blame upon the papal curia. Nevertheless it reaffirmed Luther's denial of the primacy of the pope over councils, denied that the pope is the sole interpreter of the Bible, and restated the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. The meaning of the title of this treatise is illustrated in the following quotation: "A Christian man is the most free lord of all, and subject to none; a Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all, and subject to everyone." Walker interprets this paradoxical statement as follows:

> He is free, since justified by faith, no longer under the law of works and in new personal relationship with Christ. He is a servant because bound by love to bring his life into conformity to the will of God and to be helpful to his neighbor.[23]

The papal bull *Exsurge Domine* ended any possibility of conciliation. Yet these three treatises of 1520 are remarkable for the way in which they formulated what became the

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 280–81.
[23] Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

basic principles of the Protestant Reformation: 1) the sole authority of the Bible as the standard of Christian truth; 2) justification by faith alone; and 3) the universal priesthood of believers.

THE EDICT OF WORMS. The interweaving of religion and politics worked to Luther's advantage. Charles V had been crowned emperor in Aachen on October 23, 1520, and both sides in the controversy were anxiously waiting to see what stand he would take. A true son of the Catholic faith, as the young Charles V conceived himself to be, and committed, like his ancestors, to the defense and the propagation of the faith, he could hardly sympathize with a monk who, on the basis of his own private judgment, had set himself against the tradition of a thousand years. At the same time Charles needed to consolidate his political position and to avoid any religious conflict that might divide the peoples of Europe. He wanted to conciliate the pope to make sure that he did not swing his support to Francis I of France, who was vying with Charles for control of Italy. Yet it was important that he not alienate Germany from his rule. The emperor had already called a meeting of the Diet of the Empire (the general assembly of the estates of the Holy Roman Empire) and it was now decided to add the case of Martin Luther to its agenda.

The papal nuncio urged the emperor to pronounce the edict of condemnation, now that the final papal bull had already been issued against Luther. But the Elector of Saxony insisted upon a fair hearing as well as a safe conduct for Luther to and from Worms. It was to placate anti-papal feeling in Germany that the emperor decided to give Luther a hearing, although as it turned out it was little more than an opportunity to recant. Widespread sympathy for Luther was evident in Worms from the day he arrived. At a hearing on April 17 Luther, at his own request, was given a day to decide if he would recant. Then on April 18 Luther stated his case, concluding:

> Unless I am convicted by Scripture and plain reason—I do not accept the authority of popes and councils, for they have contradicted

each other—my conscience is captive to the Word of God. I cannot and I will not recant anything, for to go against conscience is neither right nor safe. God help me. Amen.[24]

On April 19 the emperor announced his decision. Luther, the heretic, was to be given a safe conduct home, "but forbidden to preach and seduce men with his evil doctrines and incite them to rebellion."[25]

Luther left Worms for Wittenberg on April 26. The Edict of Worms containing the imperial ban was not pronounced until May 6. The ban described Luther as a schismatic and heretic, condemning him and his adherents to death and ordering the confiscation of their property. It also threatened with penalties for treason any who assisted Luther in any way or failed to deliver him up for punishment. The Edict of Worms suffered, however, from an internal weakness: a lack of unanimity of the members of the Diet, illustrated by the fact that it was issued only after the departure of Frederick the Wise and Ludwig of the Palatinate.

The imperial ban was to hang over Luther for the rest of his life, but because of the divisions within the Empire of Charles V it was never effectively implemented. Only in the Hapsburg territory itself, the Netherlands, was the ban enforced. In Germany, not even the ecclesiastical princes, who were in favor of the edict, dared to enforce it. Popular sentiment was too strongly on Luther's side. In the meantime, the Elector of Saxony protected Luther by arranging through Spalatin, his chaplain, that Luther should be spirited away and held in safekeeping until the immediate danger was over. Thus on his way home Luther was seized and carried to the Elector's castle, the Wartburg, near Eisenach, where he remained in compulsory seclusion from May 4, 1521, to March, 1522. His disappearance gave rise to the rumor that Luther had been assassinated, but it was soon dispelled when Luther's friends began to hear from him. In the meantime Luther settled down in his compulsory exile

[24] Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther*, p. 185.

[25] B. J. Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1941), p. 84.

and prepared for a long stay, even though the Wartburg was cold, the diet poor, and company, which Luther dearly loved, lacking. He grew a beard and wore the clothing of a knight.

Seclusion did not mean inactivity for Luther. He kept prodigiously busy writing encouraging and instructive letters to his friends, replying to his enemies, and penning a collection of sermons which long would furnish models for Lutheran preachers. It was also at Wartburg that Luther translated the New Testament into German. This was not the first German New Testament, but previous translations had been taken from the Latin Vulgate and were awkward and made dull reading. Luther, on the basis of Erasmus' studies of the Greek text, translated directly from the original Greek into a German which was idiomatic and highly readable. Later on Luther would translate the entire Bible into German, and the style of his translation was to have a permanent effect upon the development of German language and literature.

In the meantime, inspired by Luther's courageous stand at the Diet of Worms and his success in escaping the ban, a religious revolution was under way in Saxony. In June, 1521, the Augustinian monks of Erfurt abandoned their monastery and embraced the Lutheran doctrine. In Wittenberg one religious innovation succeeded another. On September 29, Philip Melanchthon, a younger colleague of Luther on the faculty of the University of Wittenberg, who was to become the leading theologian and spokesman of the German Reformation, gave communion in both kinds to some students in the parish church. In the Augustinian cloister Gabriel Zwilling, a fellow-monk of Luther, attacked monastic vows and private Masses, and the celebration of the Mass ceased to be observed on October 23. On November 1, All Souls Day, the usual day for the annual exhibition of relics in the Castle Church, Justus Jonas, like Melanchthon a younger colleague and intimate friend of Luther, preached a sermon denouncing indulgences. Thirteen monks left the cloister on November 12 with the avowed purpose of entering into marriage. On December 3 students and townspeople

entered the parish church, drove the priests from the altar, and stoned worshipers before a statue of the Virgin Mary. On the next day students committed acts of violence in the local Franciscan monastery. On that same day, Luther, bearded and wearing the clothing of a knight, visited Wittenberg secretly, approved of the religious changes, but cautioned against violence.

THE RETURN OF LUTHER. Wittenberg continued in a state of excitement and confusion. The reform leaders were far from united. A band of "prophets" from Zwickau, near the border of heretical Bohemia, appeared in Wittenberg to add to the confusion by affirming the superiority of direct inspiration to that of Scripture and preaching the impending end of the world. Throughout this period Melanchthon had tried to exercise his influence in the direction of moderation, but when he was unable to restrain the Zwickau prophets, Luther became alarmed and sent Melanchthon a sharp letter of reproof. As confusion mounted in Wittenberg and the people of the city became increasingly aroused, with violent attacks being made upon priests who clung to the old ways, the town council asked Luther to return. So, on March 6, risking the danger to himself, Luther defied the imperial ban, returned to Wittenberg, and resumed his leadership of the local reform.

After two days of re-orientation Luther preached in the parish church the first of eight sermons in as many days (March 9–16). Never had he displayed his power of leadership so firmly before. He called for a middle way between papal tyranny and radicalism. He asked for a demonstration of Christian love and restraint. Gradually, under Luther's leadership, the tempo of religious change was slowed down. On the issue of celibacy, Luther advocated that the clergy should be permitted to marry or not to marry, as they chose. He recommended the eventual abolition of the Mass, but only with the consent of the Elector, with the result that the Mass continued for two and one-half years after Luther's return to Wittenberg. Luther resumed his post as a professor

in the University of Wittenberg and as preacher in the local parish church.

Luther's stabilizing influence in Wittenberg made a favorable impression not only upon the Elector of Saxony, but upon other German princes as well. It accounts to a considerable degree, no doubt, for the continuing support Luther received from the lay leaders of the Diet in meetings which now rapidly succeeded one another. The Medici pope, Leo X, had died December 1, 1521, and had been succeeded by Adrian VI, a Netherlander, the last non-Italian pope. Pope Adrian, a teacher at Louvain and formerly the tutor to Charles V, was an ascetic and as strongly opposed to the abuses of the papal court as any reformer. To the Diet of Nürenberg (November 17, 1522–February 9, 1523) Pope Adrian sent his papal legate to convince the Germans that the new pope was willing to correct abuses. Although, in his conversation with the Elector Frederick's chancellor, the papal legate seemed to agree that force against the evangelicals was no remedy, in a communication to the Diet the pope insisted on repression first and reforms later. The Diet replied that it was impossible to enforce the edict against Luther and demanded that a council for church reform be held in Germany within a year. "Thus the Diet threw its shield over Lutheranism, which was within an ace of becoming a national movement."[26]

THE REFORMATION DELIMITED. The movement of reform, hitherto unchecked, ran into serious difficulties in 1524–25, "the effects of which were to limit the Reformation movement, to make Luther a party rather than a national leader, to divide Germany, and to throw Luther into the arms of the temporal princes."[27] First came the break with the Humanists, signalized by the publication by Erasmus of his essay *On the Freedom of the Will* (1524) to which Luther replied with his treatise *On the Bondage of the Will,* an exchange which revealed a fundamental theological difference in the

[26] Kidd, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
[27] Walker, *op cit.*, p. 314.

thinking of the two men. Temperamentally, Erasmus and Luther were far removed from one another. Erasmus distrusted the stormy violence of the Lutheran reformation and feared the results of his being identified with it. He had no desire to be a martyr. Humanists generally deplored the harmful effects of the reformation upon the universities, where a decline in attendance had set in as a result of religious controversy. Within the Lutheran movement itself, a small group of Humanists now gathered around the figure of the scholarly Melanchthon, but for the most part Humanists and reformers now went their separate ways.

A second factor in the weakening of the Lutheran reform was the Peasants Revolt of 1525. The peasant uprising was not a result of Lutheranism, having deeper and older roots; nevertheless, the peasants believed they had a friend in Luther. His teaching about the freedom of the Christian man might and did seem to them to have social implications. The doctrine of the priesthood of believers could be interpreted to involve social equality, and actually it had so been expounded by Carlstadt, Luther's former colleague at Wittenberg. Luther himself had been favorably impressed by the tone of the "Twelve Articles" setting forth the demands of the peasants and tried to mediate between the peasants and their lords, but he was too late. When the peasants resorted to violence and committed excesses, Luther turned against them and wrote his pamphlet "Against the Murderous and Thieving Rabble of the Peasants." The princes took him at his word and crushed the peasant uprising with much brutality. The result, from the point of view of the Lutheran reform, was the permanent loss of popular support in South Germany.

A third event which weakened the Reformation was the creation of a papal party within Germany committed to reform. Clement VI, a cousin of Leo X, had succeeded Adrian VI as Pope on November 18, 1523, and had immediately turned his attention to the German problem. Pope Clement sent Cardinal Campeggio (1474–1539), an experienced diplomat, as his legate to the Diet of Nürenberg in 1524. The pope gained nothing at Nürenberg save an agreement that

"the gospel should be preached in accord with the interpretation of the universal church. Each prince in his own territory should enforce the Edict of Worms insofar as he might be able." However, an important aftermath of this Diet was Campeggio's success in bringing together the Catholic princes of southern Germany into the League of Ratisbon, a papal party inside Germany. This was the entering wedge of a division of Germany into two parts, one Protestant, the other Roman Catholic. Space does not permit a discussion of the long and bitter struggle which ensued to determine the basis on which such a division could be worked out. The solution was not actually reached until the Peace of Augsburg (September 25, 1555), well after Luther's death (February 18, 1546). Lutheranism then, at long last, gained legal recognition, and the principle on which Germany was divided religiously was *cuius regio, eius religio,* like ruler, like subject.

SOURCE MATERIAL

APPENDIX A

The Bull *Unigenitus* of Clement VI, A.D. 1343[28]

[This document states the theory of the Treasury of Merits of Christ and the saints on which the preaching of indulgences by John Tetzel was based.]

The Only-begotten Son of God deigned to come down from his Father's bosom into the womb of his mother, in whom and from whom by an ineffable union he joined the substance of our mortal nature to his godhead, in unity of Person; uniting what was permanent with what was transitory, which he assumed in order that he might be able to redeem fallen man and for him make satisfaction to God the Father. For when the fullness of time came, God sent his own Son, made under the law, born of a woman, that he might redeem them that were under the law, that they might receive the adoption of sons. For he himself having been made for

[28] B. J. Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), pp. 259–60.

us by God, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption [I Cor. 1:30], not through the blood of goats or calves, but through his own blood entered once for all into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption [Heb. 9:12]. For not with corruptible things, with silver and gold, did he redeem us, but with the precious blood of himself, a lamb without spot or blemish [I Pet. 1:18 sq.], the precious blood which he is known to have shed as an innocent victim on the altar of the cross, not a mere drop of blood (although, because of its union with the Word, that would have sufficed for the redemption of the whole human race), but as it were a copious blood, so that from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head there was found no soundness in him [Isa. 1:6]. Wherefore therefrom (so that the pitifulness of such an effusion be not rendered idle, useless or superfluous) how great a treasure did the holy Father acquire for the Church Militant, wishing to enrich his sons with treasure, that so men might have an infinite treasure, and those who avail themselves thereof are made partakers of God's friendship. Now this treasure is not hidden in a napkin nor buried in a field, but he entrusted it to be healthfully dispensed—through blessed Peter, bearer of heaven's keys, and his successors as vicars on earth—to the faithful, for fitting and reasonable causes, now for total, now for partial remission of punishment due for temporal sins [or of temporal punishment for sins], as well generally as specially (as they should understand it to be expedient with God), and to be applied in mercy to them that are truly penitent and have confessed. And to this heap of treasure the merits of the blessed Mother of God and of all the elect, from the first just man to the last, are known to have supplied their increment; and no diminution or washing away of this treasure is in any wise to be feared, as well because of the infinite merits of Christ (as aforesaid) as because the more men are drawn to righteousness as a result of its application by so much the more does the heap of merits increase.

Appendix B

A Contemporary Description of Tetzel's Preaching[29]

He gained by his preaching in Germany an immense sum of money, all of which he sent to Rome; and especially at the new mining works at St. Annaberg, where I, Frederick Mecum, heard him for two years, a large sum was collected. It is incredible what this ignorant and impudent friar gave out. He said that if a

[29] Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation*, pp. 19–20.

Christian had slept with his mother, and placed the sum of money in the Pope's indulgence chest, the Pope had power in heaven and earth to forgive the sin, and, if he forgave it, God must do so also. Item, if they contributed readily and bought grace and indulgence, all the hills of St. Annaberg would become pure massive silver. Item, so soon as the coin rang in the chest, the soul for whom the money was paid, would go straightway to heaven. The indulgence was so highly prized, that when the commissary entered a city, the Bull was borne on a satin or gold-embroidered cushion, and all the priests and monks, the town council, schoolmaster, scholars, men, women, maidens, and children, went out to meet him with banners and tapers, with songs and procession. Then all the bells were rung, all the organs played; he was conducted into the church, a red cross displayed; in short, God himself could not have been welcomed and entertained with greater honour.

Appendix C

Tetzel's Instructions for Parish Priests[30]

Absolution and dispensation can be granted for any irregularity whatsover, except those arising from intentional homicide and bigamy.

Item: absolution and dispensation can be granted to those who have contracted marriage though impeded by some relationship, of the spirit or of the flesh, viz., in the third or fourth degree of consanguinity or affinity, and they will be able to remain in the contracted marriage, and if need be, again to contract marriage, by the declaration that their issue, past and future, will be legitimate.

Item: (absolution and dispensation can be granted) in the matter of ill-gotten gains, both those that are uncertain and those that are certain, won through usurious malpractice.

Item: in the matter of legacies left for uses of piety, a settlement and a dispensation can be executed.

Item: many other faculties (of absolution and dispensation) are available, which are omitted for the sake of brevity.

Therefore, let the people imagine that this is Rome. That is the Church of St. Peter, and churches are now to be visited (here) instead of the churches in Rome. Here there are confessors to assign penance, and they are as powerful as the mightiest penance-setters in the Church of St. Peter. God and St. Peter summon you. Dispose yourselves therefore to achieve such great grace, for

[30] Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation*, pp. 17–18. (Translation from Latin by Dr. Malcolm E. Agnew, Boston University.)

the welfare both of your own souls and for those of your departed ones. Therefore, do not delay: for the Son of Man shall come at the hour you think not.

Item: grumblers and slanderers who interfere with this kind of business, in whatsoever way and to whatsoever degree, directly or indirectly, openly or secretly, are ipso facto excommunicated by our aforementioned most holy Lordship, Pope Leo. . . . Beware, therefore, of raising your faces against heaven.

Appendix D

Instructions Provided by Albert of Mainz[31]

[These "instructions" provide an official account of the indulgence of 1517 granted by Leo X to the archbishop of Mainz. Half of the money raised was to go to the archbishop and the rest to the rebuilding of St. Peter's in Rome.]

The first grace is the complete remission of all sins; and nothing greater than this can be named, since man, who lives in sin and forfeits the favor of God, obtains complete remission by these means and once more enjoys God's favor; moreover, through this remission of sins the punishment which one is obliged to undergo in purgatory on account of the affront to the Divine Majesty is all remitted, and the pains of purgatory completely blotted out. And although nothing is precious enough to be given in exchange for such a grace—since it is a free gift of God and a grace beyond price—yet in order that Christian believers may be the more easily induced to procure the same, we establish the following rules, to wit:

In the first place, every one who is contrite in heart, and has made oral confession—or at all events has the intention of confessing at a suitable time—shall visit at least the seven churches indicated for this purpose, to wit, those in which the papal arms are displayed, and in each church shall say five Paternosters and five Ave Marias in honor of the five wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby our salvation is won, or one Miserere, which psalm is particularly well adapted for obtaining forgiveness of sins.

Sick or otherwise incapacitated persons shall visit with the same devotion and prayers, the seven altars, which the commissioners and subcommissioners shall have erected in the church where the cross shall be raised, and on which they shall have affixed the papal arms.

Where, however, persons are found so weak that they cannot conveniently come to such a church, then shall their confessor or peni-

[31] J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History* (Boston and New York: Ginn and Co., 1906), II, 54–57.

tentiary cause an altar to be brought to a convenient place approved by him. And where such persons visit this place and offer up their prayers near the altar or before it, they shall deserve the indulgence as though they had visited the seven churches.

Respecting, now, the contribution to the chest, for the building of the said church of the chief of the apostles, the penitentiaries and confessors, after they have explained to those making confession the full remission and privileges, shall ask of them for how much money or other temporal goods they would conscientiously go without the said most complete remission and privileges; and this shall be done in order that hereafter they may be brought the more easily to contribute. And because the conditions and occupations of men are so manifold and diverse that we cannot consider them individually, and impose specific rates accordingly, we have therefore concluded that the rates should be determined according to the recognized classes of persons.

Kings and queens and their offspring, archbishops and bishops, and other great rulers, provided they seek the places where the cross is raised, or otherwise present themselves, shall pay at least five and twenty Rhenish guilders in gold. Abbots and the great prelates of cathedral churches, counts, barons, and others of the higher nobility, together with their consorts, shall pay for each letter of indulgence ten such guilders. Other lesser prelates and nobles, as also the rectors of celebrated places, and all others who, either from permanent incomes or merchandise, or otherwise, enjoy a total yearly revenue of five hundred gold guilders, shall pay six such guilders. Other citizens and tradespeople and artisans, who have individual incomes and families of their own, shall pay one such guilder; those of less means, only a half. . . .

All other persons are confided to the discretion of the confessors and penitentiaries, who should have ever in view the advancement of this building, and should urge their penitents to a free contribution, but should let no one go away without some portion of grace, because the happiness of Christian believers is here concerned not less than the interests of the building. And those that have no money shall supply their contribution with prayer and fasting; for the kingdom of heaven should be open to the poor not less than to the rich. . . .

(The second signal grace is a "confessional letter," that is, a permit to choose any qualified confessor, even a mendicant friar, instead of one's parish priest or other regular confessor. Moreover the confessor chosen shall have power to absolve those holding the confessional permits in cases when the ordinary confessor would be powerless—for example, for offenses which are usually "reserved" for consideration by the pope.)

The third most important grace is the participation in all the possessions of the Church universal; which consists herein, that contribu-

tors toward the said building, together with their deceased relatives, who have departed this world in a state of grace, shall from now on, and for eternity, be partakers in all petitions, intercessions, alms, fastings, prayers, in each and every pilgrimage, even those to the Holy Land; furthermore, in the stations at Rome, in masses, canonical hours, flagellations, and all other spiritual goods which have been, or shall be, brought forth by the universal, most holy Church militant or by any of its members. Believers who purchase confessional letters may also become participants in all these things. Preachers and confessors must insist with great perseverance upon these advantages, and persuade believers not to neglect to acquire these benefits along with their confessional letter.

We also declare that in order to obtain these two most important graces, it is not necessary to make confession, or to visit the churches and altars, but merely to procure the confessional letter. . . .

The fourth distinctive grace is for those souls which are in purgatory, and is the complete remission of all sins, which remission the pope brings to pass through his intercession, to the advantage of said souls, in this wise: that the same contribution shall be placed in the chest by a living person as one would make for himself. It is our wish, however, that our subcommissioners should modify the regulations regarding contributions of this kind which are given for the dead, and that they should use their judgment in all other cases, where, in their opinion, no modifications are desirable.

It is, furthermore, not necessary that the persons who place their contributions in the chest for the dead should be contrite in heart and have orally confessed, since this grace is based simply on the state of grace in which the dead departed, and on the contribution of the living, as is evident from the text of the bull. Moreover preachers shall exert themselves to give this grace the widest publicity, since through the same, help will surely come to departed souls, and the construction of the church of St. Peter will be abundantly promoted at the same time. . . .

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. What are some similarities between Luther and earlier reformers and what is the one fundamental difference?
2. What was the relationship of the Lutheran Reformation to German nationalism?
3. Explain the nature of the new understanding which came to Luther, culminating in his experience of illumination in the tower.

4. Explain Roman Catholic teaching about indulgences in the period of Martin Luther. What ambiguities of interpretation existed in Luther's day? See the text of the bull *Unigenitus* in Appendix A in which Clement VI (1343) expounded the Church's indulgence theory.
5. In what respect, particularly, did Tetzel's preaching go beyond contemporary Roman Catholic teaching about indulgences? Note the "fourth distinctive grace" in the instructions for preachers given by the archbishop of Mainz. See Appendix D.
6. Why, primarily, did Luther oppose the sale of indulgences?
7. In what sense was the Disputation at Leipzig a victory for Eck?
8. What basic principles find clear expression in Luther's treatises of the year 1520: "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation"? "On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church"? "On Christian Liberty"?
9. Why was the ban on Luther pronounced at the Edict of Worms relatively ineffective?
10. What accounts for the support given Luther by the lay members of the Diet in the period following his return to Wittenberg?
11. What were the basic forces which led to the "delimitation" of the Lutheran reform?

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

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Chapter 19

THE SWISS REFORMATION

ZWINGLI AND LUTHER COMPARED. The Reformed tradition originated in Zurich under the leadership of Ulrich Zwingli (1494–1531). Zwingli became a reformer after long and scholarly study of the Scriptures. A Humanist, and a disciple of Erasmus, Zwingli had gone back to the sources of the Christian tradition and found startling discrepancies between primitive Christianity and the teaching and practice of the Church of his own day. This rationalist element appears in Zwingli's attitude toward the Lord's Supper. In fact, it was their differences here that led to a parting of the ways for Luther and Zwingli. Another difference had to do with the application of religion to the social and political order. Lutheranism was religiously subjective, marked by a deep sense of gratitude to God for his merciful forgiveness, but accompanied by a pessimism about the redemption of society; this sort of attitude seemed to imply that the best that a Christian could do was to give his support to the existing order. Zwingli (and Calvin, later) took a more hopeful view of social and political reform, believing it possible for the Kingdom of God to come upon earth under the leadership of the Elect. In this emphasis the Swiss Reformation bears the stamp of its early leader and of the Swiss national character as well, since the Swiss at this time were the most vigilant of all nations of Europe in the defense of their freedom.

HUMANIST EDUCATION. Ulrich Zwingli was born in Wildhaus, in the Canton of St. Gall in northeast Switzerland, on January 1, 1484. The date of his birth followed that of Martin Luther (November 10, 1483) by about seven weeks. Zwingli's father was mayor of Wildhaus and Ulrich was one of ten children. Ulrich's uncle was the parish priest of Wildhaus. When the latter became dean of Wesen, he took charge of

young Ulrich's education. When the boy was ten he was sent to a Latin school at Basel where he remained four years (1494–98) and then to Bern where he studied (1498–1500) in the school of Heinrich Wölflin (Lupulus), the Humanist. Here Zwingli continued the study of Latin, read the classics, and became a skilled musician. He spent the next two years (1500–1502) at the University of Vienna, where it is probable he came under the influence of another Humanist, Conradus Celtis, the leading light of the university at that time. Zwingli matriculated at the University of Basel in 1502, received his B.A. in 1504 and his M.A. in 1506, having concentrated in the arts and theology. Twice in his later writings Zwingli indicated his indebtedness to his teacher at Basel, Humanist Thomas Wyttenbach, "whom he gratefully remembered as having taught him the sole authority of Scripture, the death of Christ as the only price of forgiveness, and the worthlessness of indulgences."[1] Given Zwingli's background, therefore, it is not surprising to find strong humanist influences in the development of the Zwinglian reform.

PARISH PRIEST. Zwingli served as parish priest of Glarus, under his uncle's supervision (1506–1516), then as people's priest at Einsiedeln (1516–1518), and finally in 1519 was called to Zurich to be people's priest at the Great Minster (Cathedral Church). Zwingli's writings as early as the Glarus period show him to be already a political as well as a religious reformer, a Swiss patriot as well as a humanist scholar. Switzerland at this time consisted of a confederation of thirteen cantons practically, although not technically, independent of the Empire. The Swiss, says Machiavelli, were in that day "the most thoroughly armed and the freest of nations," and "the teachers of the modern art of war."[2] As a result, Swiss soldiers were in much demand as mercenaries, particularly, in this period, by the French and the armies of the pope. Three times Zwingli accompanied troops from Glarus on campaigns in Italy, in 1512, 1513, and 1515, and

[1] Williston Walker, *History of the Christian Church* (rev. ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), p. 321.

[2] B. J. Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), p. 369.

saw the evil consequences of the mercenary system for the Swiss—the loss of life, the moral depravity of the soldier's way of life, and the corruption of those who profited by trafficking in men's lives. He wrote two tracts against this system and preached outspoken sermons from his Glarus pulpit. Opposition to his position by some of his parishioners may have influenced his decision to accept a post in Einsiedeln (1516).

During these years Zwingli continued his scholarly labors side by side with the performance of his pastoral duties. He had earlier taught himself Greek so as to study the teachings of Jesus in the language of the Gospels. He even copied the letters of Paul in the Greek and memorized them. At Einsiedeln, as a result of his study of the Bible and his reading of Erasmus, Zwingli began to speak openly in favor of church reform. He opposed publicly the worship of the saints. Face to face with high prelates of the Church, who came in large numbers to Einsiedeln because it was a famous pilgrimage center, Zwingli protested what he considered to be the abuses of the Church. Once he told a cardinal "that the papacy had a false foundation, and supported the same from Scripture."[3] When a notorious preacher of indulgences named Samson appeared in Switzerland, Zwingli openly ridiculed him to fellow humanists. It was in Einsiedeln, too, that Zwingli departed from custom by preaching directly from the Gospels at Mass, making use of the Church Fathers for his exposition. Later Zwingli was to claim: "I began to preach the Gospel of Christ in the year 1516, before anyone in my locality had so much as heard of Luther."[4]

THE BEGINNING OF SWISS REFORM. The Swiss Reformation may be said to have begun in Zurich in 1522 as a result of Zwingli's preaching. Zwingli took up his post as people's priest in the Cathedral Church on January 1, 1519, and announced his intention not to follow the passages prescribed by the Church liturgy for each Sunday of the year, but to

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 375.

[4] G. W. Richards, in *Protestantism, A Symposium*, ed. W. K. Anderson (Nashville: Commission on Courses of Study, The Methodist Church, 1944), p. 59.

expound whole books of the Bible, without reference to the Church Fathers. He began with the Gospel of Matthew, having a copy of the Greek text before him in the lectern. The effect upon his hearers was electrifying.

> The modern generation can scarcely reconstruct the excitement which such an announcement produced. A young humanist was in Zwingli's audience, Thomas Platter by name, who has left us a most charming autobiography. So great was his ardor for the ancient tongues that he supported himself through manual labor by day and at night studied with sand in his mouth, that the gritting against his teeth might keep him awake. This lad, so passionately eager to master the wisdom of the ages, when he heard from the pulpit the complete, unadulterated Word of God, for so many centuries withheld from the people, declared that he felt as if he were being pulled up by the hair of his head. The news of the discovery of America had produced no such excitement.[5]

Many others, like Thomas Platter, responded with enthusiasm. But there was also some opposition, particularly from the monastic orders of Zurich and within the cathedral chapter itself. Zwingli had the backing of the government of the city, which consisted of two burgomasters and two councils—the Small Council consisting of fifty or at any one time, of twenty-five members, and the Great Council of two hundred, which was the legislature of the city.

And herein lies the secret of Zwingli's relatively immediate success and his freedom of action. Whereas Luther had to confront the highest religious authorities of the world—the pope and the emperor, as well as his own Elector of Saxony —Zwingli had to deal chiefly with a town council which exercized authority in both secular and spiritual affairs. The Bishop of Constance could protest, but he did so without the support of the pope, since the papacy was still hopeful of obtaining the aid of Swiss mercenaries. Pope Adrian VI himself condoned Zwingli's heresy. Regardless of any tactical advantage he might have gained by remaining silent, Zwingli continued to preach boldly against the evils of the mercenary system, and in 1520 he renounced the papal stipend which, as a military chaplain, he had been receiving since 1513.

[5] Bainton, *op. cit.*, pp. 82–83.

The religious basis of Zwingli's preaching—if we may quote the reformer slightly out of context—comes into focus when we examine his defense at the first disputation in Zurich, 1523:

> You know that now in our time, as also for many years heretofore, the pure, clear, and bright light, the word of God, has been so dimmed and confused and darkened with human ambitions and teachings that the majority who call themselves Christians know but little of the divine will . . . I have preached in this city of Zurich nothing but the true, pure, and clear word of God, the holy gospel . . .[6]

The town rulers gave their firm support to Zwingli in his proclamation of the Word of God as the basis of religious authority. As early as December, 1520, the burgomaster and council of Zurich issued the following mandate for scriptural preaching:

> That they all and generally preach in freedom (as is also granted by the papal laws) the holy Gospels and Epistles of the Apostles conformably with the Word of God, and the true divine Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and that they teach that which they receive and hold from the said Scriptures, and say nothing of other accidental innovations and rules.[7]

Matters came to a head, not as a direct result of any act of Zwingli, but because some citizens of Zurich, encouraged by Zwingli's preaching, broke the Lenten fast on Ash Wednesday, March 5, 1522. Called before the Council, the offenders appealed to the authority of the Scriptures as interpreted by Zwingli, who himself preached a sermon in defense of the accused. When the Bishop of Constance carried a complaint from the Small to the Great Council of Zurich, and finally to the Diet of the Swiss Confederation at Lucerne, the Diet declared that the local authorities of Zurich ought to prevent the clergy from preaching in such a way as to unsettle the common man. Yet the Diet had no way to enforce its opinion. And soon another controversy arose, this time over

[6] J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1906), II, 118–119.

[7] Kidd, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

the questions of the celibacy of the clergy and the intercession of the saints. The local authorities again supported Zwingli against the bishop. After three disputations concerning the intercession of the saints, the burgomaster issued a pronouncement favoring preaching "from Holy Scripture, to the exclusion of Scotus and Thomas and suchlike."[8] To make clear where religious authority lay, Zwingli resigned his appointment as people's priest and was then promptly reappointed by the town council, without either party consulting the bishop.

THE THREE DISPUTATIONS OF 1523–24. Three disputations were held in Zurich to argue the reform proposals, on January 29, 1523, October 26–28, 1523, and January 19, 1524, respectively. Zwingli prepared the way for the first disputation by publishing on January 19 sixty-seven articles for debate, all based upon the authority of the Bible alone. A few examples will illustrate the issues between the parties:

1. All who say that the Gospel is nothing without the approbation of the Church err.

15. In the Gospel the whole truth is clearly contained.

17. Christ is the one eternal high priest. Those who pretend to be high priests resist, yea, set aside, the honor and dignity of Christ.

18. Christ, Who offered Himself once on the cross, is the sufficient and perpetual sacrifice for the sins of all believers. Therefore, the Mass is no sacrifice, but a commemoration of the one sacrifice of the cross. . . .

24. Christians are not bound to any works which Christ has not commanded. They may eat at all times all kinds of food.

28. Whatsoever God permits and has not forbidden is right. Therefore marriage is becoming to all men. . . .

34. The spiritual power so called (the Church) has no foundation in the Holy Scriptures and the teaching of Christ.

35. But the secular power is confirmed by the teaching and example of Christ (Luke 2:1–5; Matt. 23:21). . . .

49. I know of no greater scandal than the prohibition of lawful marriage to priests, while they are permitted, on payment of a fine, to have concubines. Shame!

57. The Holy Scripture knows nothing of a purgatory.[9]

[8] See Appendix A.

[9] Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church.* Vol. VII: *The Swiss Reformation* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), pp. 52–53.

The first disputation resulted in the adoption by the council of the scriptural standard Zwingli had proposed and the issuing of a decree requiring all preachers in its territories to conform to this standard. Clergy, including Zwingli, now married; nuns were permitted to leave convents, and some of them married; in August, 1523, baptism was performed in the vernacular according to a form later dropped in favor of one drawn up by Zwingli, described as the "Form of Baptism . . . with the omission of all additions which have no ground in the Word of God, 1525."

Further changes were made after the second disputation. The Council removed Zurich from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Constance, ordered the abolition of images and the Mass, and declared its intention to send preachers into the countryside to convert the rural districts.

Other changes were made after the third disputation, including the casting out of organs and relics. In Holy Week of 1525 Mass was said for the last time and its place taken by a simple service in which the sermon was given prominence, followed by a memorial service, in German, with unleavened bread and wine distributed by appointed persons, with the understanding that this memorial communion would be celebrated four times a year, at Easter, Whitsuntide, Autumn, and Christmas.

The reform spread in German Switzerland, although not without opposition. Bern came over to the evangelical position in 1528, Basel in 1529. By 1529 the reform had taken root in six of the thirteen cantons of the Swiss Confederation. Even some cities of South Germany leaned to the Zwinglian rather than the Lutheran reform, pre-eminently Strassburg. Thus Switzerland was now divided like Germany. In 1531 Zurich tried to impose its views on the Catholic cantons by force, but with inconclusive results. Then in a second battle at Kappel, the Catholic cantons won a victory and Zwingli was among those slain in the battle. In the ensuing treaty of peace, each canton was given the right to regulate its own affairs and the Reformation in German Switzerland made no further progress. Zwingli in his role as leading Swiss re-

former was now succeeded and his work to some extent superseded by Calvin, who soon took the leadership of the Reformed churches.

GENEVA AND CALVIN. Whereas Zurich had been the headquarters of the evangelical reform for German-speaking Switzerland and remained so under Zwingli's son-in-law and successor, Henry Bullinger, Geneva became the center of the Reformed Church in French-speaking Switzerland. The first leader of reform among the cities of French Switzerland was William Farel (1489–1565), a French refugee and reformer, trained under the humanist scholar Jacques Le Fevre (*c.* 1455–1536), although the latter had hoped for reform from within the Church and never left the Catholic faith. Geneva, with the aid of Bern, had just survived a political crisis in which she had overcome the power of the Roman Catholic bishop and the Duke of Savoy. Power was now transferred to a General Assembly, together with a Little Council of twenty-five. A Council of two hundred was added in 1527. Independence gained, Geneva pledged herself to the Reform faith in 1536. The revolt of Geneva had been as much political as religious, and William Farel and his supporters now faced an overwhelming task in realizing their program of religious reform. The help they needed appeared in the person of John Calvin, who by chance passed through Geneva on his return to Strassburg from a visit to Italy.

John Calvin (Jean Cauvin) was born in the town of Noyon, in northwest France, July 10, 1509, and came to manhood at a time "when the lines were not sharply drawn between humanist, Catholic, Reformed, and Lutheran."[10] His father, a lay official of the Noyon bishopric, intended him for the priesthood, and when Calvin was only 12, obtained a benefice for him, involving no duties, which served Calvin as a means of support during his period of study (in much the same way a scholarship would today). When he was fourteen Calvin entered the University of Paris under the name "Johannes Calvinus," studying grammar and rhetoric for a year under

[10] Bainton, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

Cordier, a Humanist teacher, who gave him an excellent grounding in Latin and contributed to Calvin's mastery of literary style. The next year Calvin turned to the study of philosophy and dialectic, completing the work for the bachelor of arts degree in early 1528 at the age of 19. Since his father had now decided that he should study for the law rather than for the priesthood, Calvin went to Orleans to study law. In 1529, however, he moved to the University of Bourges, where he began the study of Greek under the German Humanist Melchior Wolmar. When his father died in 1531, Calvin gave up the study of law and returned to Paris, where he devoted himself to his first love, humanist studies. His first published writing was a work on Seneca's *de Clementia.*

In 1532 or 1533 Calvin experienced a sudden conversion, an autobiographical account of which is given in his later "Preface to the Commentary on the Psalms."[11] Yet Calvin retained his fondness for humanist studies. When his friend Nicholas Cop was chosen as rector of the University of Paris, Calvin helped him to prepare an inaugural address which opened in the spirit of Erasmus with a plea for a purified Christianity. The address then proceeded to a sympathetic exposition of Luther's justification by faith and concluded with a call for toleration of new religious ideas. The result was a demand by the king for repression of "Lutheranism," which made it necessary not only for Cop but also his friends, including Calvin, to flee Paris for their lives. For a time Calvin resided in Angoulême in southern France, but in 1534 returned to Noyon to resign his benefice. Then he paid a brief visit to Paris, went to Strassburg, and on to Basel, where he published the first edition of the famous *Institutes of the Christian Religion.*

THE INSTITUTES. Begun in Angoulême during Calvin's forced retirement from Paris, the first edition of the *Institutes,* with a Preface addressed to Francis I, King of France, was published in Basel in March, 1536, when its author was only

[11] See Appendix B.

twenty-six years of age. The Preface itself, "one of the literary masterpieces of the Reformation,"[12] at once established Calvin as the leader of French Protestantism. Calvin himself later explained the scope and purpose of the original edition of the *Institutes* (and the Preface) in the following words:

> This volume was not a thick and laborious work like the present edition; it appeared as a brief Enchiridion (manual). It had no other purpose than to bear witness to the faith of those whom I saw criminally libeled by wicked and false courtiers. . . .[13]

In spite of this modest evaluation by the author, the importance of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* can hardly be overestimated. The book was important, not because of originality on the part of Calvin in contributing new ideas, but because it brought together and formulated into a consistent framework the already existing ideas of the Protestant Reformation. "What Aquinas did for classic Catholicism in his *Summa,* Calvin did for classic Protestantism in his *Institutio.*"[14] Calvin was the organizer of the Reformation.

It is impossible to give an adequate summary of the *Institutes.* In its first edition, the book was a small octavo volume of 514 pages, plus a five-page index. "The Knowledge of God," which in the original edition occupies slightly more than a page, has in the final revision of 1559 become a whole book, one of the four major divisions of the work. The very sentences of the first edition are retained in later editions but become headings for sections. In form the *Institutes* is patterned after the Apostles' Creed and demonstrates Calvin's conviction that the teachings here presented are not new, not innovations, as the opponents of reform were insisting, but truly the ancient teachings of the Church. The *Institutes,* in its final form, consists of four books: Book I, Of the Knowledge of God the Creator; Book II, Of the Knowledge of God the Redeemer; Book III, Of the Mode of

[12] Walker, *op. cit.,* p. 350.

[13] John Calvin's *Commentaries and Letters,* ed. Joseph Haroutunian (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958), p. 52.

[14] J. S. Whale, *The Protestant Tradition* (Cambridge: University Press, 1955), p. 121.

Obtaining the Grace of Christ; and Book IV, Of the External Means or Helps by Which God Allures Us into Fellowship with Christ, and Keeps Us in It. In later controversy with Dutch Arminians, Calvinists formulated their famous "five points": (1) Unconditional election; (2) Atonement limited to the Elect; (3) Total Depravity; (4) Irresistible Grace; and (5) The Perseverance of the Saints. Of course, such a summary of Calvin's teaching does not do justice to the thought of Calvin and the actual scope of the *Institutes*. Shaped by the heat of controversy, this five-fold summary overemphasizes the negative aspects of Calvin's teachings.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD. The starting point for Calvin was the power and the glory of God. This is the subject of Book I of the *Institutes*. The later Westminster Shorter Catechism faithfully reflects the spirit of Calvinism with its impressive opening words:

> Ques. 1. What is the chief end of man?
> Answer: Man's chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy him forever.

The centrality of the doctrine of God to Calvin's thought is well brought out in the words of a modern theologian:

> No theology was ever more theocentric. All is of God. If two Latin words (*sola fide*) express the genius of classic Lutheranism, there are three which are supremely distinctive of Calvinism: *soli deo gloria* (to God alone be the glory). Calvinist theology is informed throughout with an adoring sense of the transcendence, the sole and absolute causality, of God, before whose infinite majesty, incomprehensible essence, boundless power and eternal duration, man is utterly insignificant, save to illustrate the operation of God's grace in redemption.[15]

Jonathan Edwards in latter-day New England found the teaching of God's sovereignty "a delightful doctrine, exceeding bright, pleasant and sweet."

PREDESTINATION. Another important aspect of Calvin's theology was predestination, the doctrine that only those chosen by God before their birth, the Elect, would gain salvation, and that the non-Elect would be consigned to eternal

[15] Whale, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

punishment.[16] One might expect that the overwhelming emphasis in Calvinism upon the sovereignty of God would have the effect of paralyzing the human will. Yet this is not the case. Calvin insists with one breath that the will of God determines all that is or ever will be and also that man is free and responsible. This is a paradox, but one that has been amply documented from the history of Calvinism. Indeed there is exhibited here "the central paradox of religious ethics —that only those are nerved with the courage to turn the world upside down who are convinced that already in a higher sense, it is disposed for the best by a power of which they are the humble instrument . . ."[17]

The doctrine of predestination has its positive side in the moral earnestness it has produced.

> And if we judge the tree by its fruits, at its best it brought forth a strong and good race. The noblest examples are not the theologians, Calvin and Knox, not only drunk with God but drugged with him, much less politicians like Henry of Navarre and William of Orange, but the rank and file of the Huguenots of France, the Puritans of England, "the choice and sifted seed wherewith God sowed the wilderness of America." These men bore themselves with I know not what of lofty seriousness, and with a matchless disdain of all mortal peril and all earthly grandeur. Believing themselves chosen vessels and elect instruments of grace, they could neither be seduced by carnal pleasure nor awed by human might.[18]

The doctrine of predestination has also its negative side, for Calvin is more ruthless in consigning the non-Elect to eternal punishment than is either Augustine or Luther. Augustine agreed that salvation comes only from the freely bestowed mercy of God, but he added that God *permits* some to be lost without saying that they must be. Luther, his faith rooted in the love of God, could not bring himself to say that God willed that some should be lost. Calvin bluntly

[16] See Appendix C.

[17] R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., Inc., 1926), p. 109.

[18] Preserved Smith, *The Age of the Reformation* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1920), pp. 167–168.

affirms the doctrine, although he does describe it as a "horrible decree" (*Decretum quidem horribile fateor*).[19]

Some would describe Calvin's acceptance of this negative doctrine as morbid and perhaps write it off as an expression of the man's own sense of insecurity and anxiety about his own salvation. This hardly carries conviction, in view of the certainty Calvin is known to have felt concerning his own election. Moreover, Calvin's theology was not self-centered, but God-centered. The doctrine of predestination was for Calvin a joyful expression of his belief in the sovereignty of God. Calvin specifically warned his followers against absorption in the question of their own election. He declared the why and wherefore of God's choice of some to be saved and of others to be lost a mystery, agreeing with Augustine that we cannot "set up the standard of human justice as the standard by which to measure the justice of God." If we seek to find out why Calvin carried the doctrine as far as he did, it is necessary to recognize that the doctrine is found in the Bible; this for Calvin was authoritative. Many examples may be quoted from the Scriptures of election and reprobation, of which a very clear case is the verse: "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated." But, as J. S. Whale comments, in evaluating Calvin's position:

> . . . the unflinching logic of double predestination is not typical of Scripture taken as a whole. The Bible nowhere directly asserts the *decretum horribile.* Calvin is really basing himself not on the teaching of the Bible but on a logical syllogism: "if there be election there must be rejection; there must be eternal predestination to eternal perdition." The Bible nowhere says this. St. Paul is much nearer to the biblical "nevertheless" which defies and transcends logic. "I was as a beast before thee. Nevertheless I am continually with thee: thou hast holden me by my right hand. Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel and afterward receive me to glory" (Ps. 73:22–3). It is St. Paul, therefore, who expresses the true biblical non-logical doctrine of double predestination, when he says: "For God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all" (Rom. 11:32).[20]

[19] *Institutes,* III, xxiv.
[20] Whale, *op. cit.,* pp. 143–144

GENEVA, UTOPIA REALIZED. "Calvin's first creative achievement was a book, the *Institutes*"; writes J. S. Whale, "his second was a city, Geneva."[21] Located at the southwestern end of Lake Geneva, with easy access to the great trade route of Europe, the valleys of the Rhone and the Rhine, Geneva had been from ancient times an important commercial center. Here capitalism was rapidly displacing feudalism as the basis of society and a spirit of individual independence flourished. By Calvin's day, Geneva had thrown off the feudal control of the Duke of Savoy, expelled the Roman Catholic bishop, and affirmed the principles of the Reformation. But the revolution in Geneva had been as much political as religious, if not more so, and Calvin, trying to remould Geneva according to his heart's desire, was to meet stubborn opposition.

In 1542 Calvin was able to say in a letter to a friend that the basis for a Puritan state had been laid down in Geneva. This had not happened overnight, however. Calvin's first residence in Geneva, from August, 1536 to April, 1538, had resulted in expulsion and exile, after a first attempt to make Geneva a model community with powers of discipline given to the church, a catechism, and a creed, all obligatory upon the citizens, had failed. Farel had fled to nearby Neuchâtel, where he was to remain for most of the rest of his life, though he continued to encourage Calvin in his endeavors. Calvin settled in Strassburg as pastor of the French refugees at the Church of Saint Nicholas and after a few months became lecturer in theology as well, with a salary paid by the town. He brought out a second edition of the *Institutes* in August, 1539 and in October published a Preface to his *Commentary on Romans*. He came now to be regarded not only as a leading Reformation theologian but also as an outstanding biblical scholar. These years in Strassburg were probably his happiest years. They were marked by his friendship with Bucer, his participation in important debates and conferences at which he met other leaders of the Reforma-

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

tion, including Melanchthon, who remained his firm friend. It was in Strassburg that he found happiness in marriage, and where many honors were showered upon him by the city authorities. In September, 1541, however, Calvin felt it his duty to return to Geneva, after an upheaval in the town council had restored Calvin's friends to power.

Calvin returned to Geneva on his own terms and now had little difficulty in persuading the council to accept his Ordinances, Catechism, and a liturgy for church services which was eventually to have a profound influence on all Protestant churches except the Lutheran. The remaining years of Calvin's life, all of them spent in Geneva, have been outlined by Kidd as follows: (1) six years of consolidation, devoted to the establishing of the church discipline over the moral and religious life of Geneva (1542–1548); (2) six years of conflict, 1548–1554); and (3) ten years of domination, with the discipline firmly established, 1555–1564.

The second period (1548–1554) witnessed a strong challenge to Calvin's power in Geneva. There was bitter resentment of the strict discipline imposed upon the Genevan community and widespread disagreement on doctrinal matters, particularly predestination. It looked as if the elections of 1553 would go against Calvin, until the case of Servetus arose. Michael Servetus (1511–1553) was a Spanish physician of brilliant mind but controversial spirit who had attracted fame by highly original studies both in medicine and theology. He is considered to be the true discoverer of the pulmonary circulation of the blood. He held anti-Trinitarian views in theology and published a book called *Errors Concerning the Trinity* in 1531 and *The Restitution of Christianity*, acknowledging the divinity of Christ but denying the Trinity, in 1553. Condemned by the Inquisition, Servetus fled Vienne, France, and came to Geneva where he was recognized and arrested. Calvin served as prosecutor in the trial of Servetus for heresy and the City of Geneva ordered Servetus to be burned at the stake October 27, 1553. This success gave Calvin a victory at the polls, since his opponents could not

afford to appear to support heresy, but it has left a blemish upon the record of Calvin's life and work.

The consolidation of power in the final period was due in part to the influx of Protestant refugees from all parts of Europe. Some of the refugees were scholars who became professors in the University of Geneva, established in 1559 under the name "Genevan Academy." Thus Calvin, unlike most Utopian dreamers, lived to see his ideal community visibly established. Calvin died in 1564, less than fifty-three years of age, but surrounded by friends and comforted by the knowledge that under the leadership of Beza, the work he had begun would go on.

As a leader of the second generation of reformers, Calvin's work was that of defining and conserving the creative principles set forth by the founders. This work of clarification and organization he did superbly well. But Calvin, although chiefly the organizer and systematizer of the Reformation, was no mere imitator. He put his own stamp upon the Reformed tradition. His ideal was an active one, a conception of the church as having a definite responsibility, together with civil government, for the shaping of community life. Calvin's theocratic ideal contrasted with the ideas of Luther and the Anabaptist movement. Martin Luther, at least after 1527, stressed the ideal of personal piety, leaving even the administration of the church to the civil authorities. The spirit of the Anabaptist movement, to which we turn next, was also one of personal piety, as well as of social and religious protest, expressing itself in such ways as the refusal to take oaths and to bear arms, in contrast with the Calvinist aim of active guidance of community life. To Luther the world was a pigsty; the Anabaptists held an equally pessimistic view of the nature of man and society. In addition, both Lutherans and Anabaptists held to a literal acceptance of New Testament teachings about a catastrophic end of the age. On this point, Calvin, following Augustine, discarded eschatological teaching and "substituted for the great and imminent day of the Lord the dream of the Holy Commonwealth in the

terrestrial sphere,"[22] the realization of the Kingdom of God upon earth.

CALVIN'S DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH. Calvin's blueprint for his version of the Kingdom of God upon earth is found in Book IV of the *Institutes*, which contains three sections, dealing respectively with "The Church," "The Sacraments," and the "Civil Government." The true Church consists of "all the elect of God." It is invisible, because "we must leave to God alone the knowledge of his Church whose foundation is his secret election."[23] The true Church includes the living and the dead, thus incorporating the principle of the Communion of the Saints. But there is also a visible Church, which is

> the whole multitude, dispersed all over the world, who profess to worship one God and Jesus Christ, who are initiated into his faith by baptism, who testify their unity in true doctrine and charity by a participation of the sacred supper, who consent to the word of the Lord, and preserve the ministry which Christ has instituted for the purpose of preaching it. In this Church are included many hypocrites, who have nothing of Christ but the name and appearance . . . As it is necessary, therefore, to believe that Church, which is invisible to us, and known to God alone, so this Church, which is visible to men, we are commanded to honour, and to maintain communion with it.[24]

Yet there can be no true Church "where delusion and falsehood have usurped the dominion . . . as is the state of things under the Papacy." There "instead of the ministry of the word, there reigns a corrupt government, composed of falsehoods, by which the pure light is suppressed or extinguished. An execrable sacrilege has been substituted for the supper of the Lord. The worship of God is deformed by a multifarious and intolerable mass of superstitions. The doctrine, without which Christianity cannot exist, has been entirely forgotten or exploded."[25]

[22] R. H. Bainton, *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1952), pp. 114–15.
[23] *Institutes*, IV, I, 2.
[24] *Op. cit.*, IV, I, vi.
[25] *Op. cit.*, IV, 3, i–ii.

Calvin, following Paul, held that in the New Testament, church officers were apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers. The first three offices, Calvin held, are meant to be filled only occasionally, while pastors and teachers are the continuing functions. Appointment to office is to be based in part upon a "secret call," known only to those called, but also "with the consent and approbation of the people,"[26] which introduces a democratic principle into the organization of the church, although in Geneva this right had to be expressed through representatives elected to the town council. In addition to the pastors and teachers, there are also deacons who dispense alms, and have the care of the poor.

The church, according to Calvin, has the power of discipline over its membership (which in Geneva included the whole population), even to the point of excommunication. If discipline is necessary in a family, it is even more essential in a church, which is a larger family. Discipline may begin with private admonition, but severer remedies may be applied when necessary, even excommunication. Civil government parallels church government, and while it should not infringe upon the latter, yet it should offer its support.

> For I do not allow men to make laws respecting religion and the worship of God now, any more than I did before; though I approve of civil government, which provides that the true religion which is contained in the law of God, be not violated, and polluted by public blasphemies, with impunity.[27]

THE SACRAMENTS. With regard to the sacraments, Calvin, like the other reformers, accepted only two, baptism and the Lord's Supper. Baptism was for Calvin "a sign of initiation." On the Lord's Supper, Calvin took a position between Luther and Zwingli. At the Colloquy of Marburg (1529), Luther and Zwingli had agreed on everything but the interpretation of the Lord's Supper. To Luther, Christ's words "This is my body" were literally true. His deep religious feeling saw in an actual partaking of Christ the surest pledge of that union

[26] *Op. cit.*, IV, 3, xi, xv.
[27] *Op. cit.*, IV, 20, ii.

with Christ and forgiveness of sins of which the Supper was the divinely attested promise."[28] Luther wanted to say "This is my Body," insisting upon the physical as well as spiritual presence of Christ, although rejecting the traditional theory of transubstantiation and proposing a new term, consubstantiation, teaching the co-existence of the body and blood of Christ together with the bread and wine of the sacrament. Zwingli was too much of a rationalist to be able to say "This *is* my body." He wanted to say, rather, "This *signifies* my body," although this had a deeper meaning for him than the literal wording might suggest. Zwingli had no intention of denying the spiritual presence of Christ in the sacrament for true believers; what he denied was that Christ was present in a literal physical sense.

Calvin agreed with Zwingli in denying the physical presence of Christ in the sacrament. For Calvin the bread and the wine are symbols of the body and blood of Christ, not the body and blood themselves. And yet in participating in the Lord's Supper, believers do in a spiritual sense participate in Christ and experience a quickening of spiritual life. "That sacred communication of his own flesh and blood by which Christ pours his life into us, just as if he were to penetrate into the marrow of our bones, he witnesses and attests in the Supper. And that he does not by putting before us a vain or empty sign, but offering there the efficacy of his Spirit, by which he fulfils his promise."[29]

CIVIL GOVERNMENT. In order to make the discipline effective in Geneva, a Consistory including clergy and twelve lay elders chosen by the council was appointed "to keep watch on the life of every one." The city was divided into quarters and some of the elders visited every home in the city at least once a year and carefully examined the lives, actions, and opinions of individual members. The measure of success of such strict regulation has been debated. In 1556 John Knox called Geneva "the most perfect school of Christ that

[28] Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

[29] Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church* (New York and London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1947), p. 303.

ever was on earth since the days of the apostles." On the other hand, the records of the consistory list more cases of vice after the Reformation than before; but this may simply testify to a greater degree of regulation. It has been said that the real key to the saintliness claimed for Geneva was the large influx of able and sympathetic refugees from other parts of Europe attracted to Geneva by the fame of Calvin and his achievements there. In any case, the Geneva of Calvin was a tightly knit community where church and state, laity and clergy, to a higher degree than anywhere else of that or probably any other time, shared a common purpose and strove to realize it.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

Incidents Precipitating Swiss Reformation[30]

I. Some Citizens Break the Fast on Ash Wednesday, 5 March 1522

Inquiry as to who had been eating flesh and eggs in Lent.

1 (a). Elsi Flammer, maidservant of the printer in the Niederdorf, said she had by her master's orders cooked some sausages on Ash Wednesday, and that the people's priest Leo Judä of Einsiedeln, Bartholomew Pur, and Michael Hirt, had eaten of them. Afterwards several vinedressers of her master's had eaten of this flesh. . . .

. . . (c). Bartholomew Pur, the baker, said: On Ash Wednesday he and Master Uolrich Zwingli, people's priest at the Great Minster, Master Leo Jud, people's priest at Einsiedeln, Master Laurence Keller, parson of Egg, Henry Aberli, Michael Hirt the baker, Conrad Luchsinger, and Conrad Escher, were in the kitchen of the printer Froschauer's house: and the printer produced two dried sausages. They cut them up and each had a little bit. All ate of them, except Master Uolrich Zwingli, people's priest at the Great Minster. . . .

II. Street-Fighting

Michael Ferrich, a journeyman shoemaker from Würzburg, came to blows with James Schmidt of Meilen about the month and eating

[30] B. J. Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), pp. 390–392.

flesh. The one said, "People eat flesh in March." "No, that they don't," replied the other. "Well," continued the stranger, "it seems to me there are folks in this country who can get on better with whey and cheese than with Scripture." And when he went on to chaff his fellow about his "old cow-country" and so forth, they fell to settle it with their fists, till the neighbours made peace.

III. Christopher Froschauer's Defence, April, 1522

Christopher Froschauer, printer to the Council.—(1) In the first place, prudent, gracious, pious and dear Lords, as it has come to your knowledge that I have eaten flesh in my house, I plead guilty, and in the following wise: I have so much work on hand, and it is costing me so much in body, goods, and work, that I have to get on and work at it day and night, holy day and work-a-day, so that I may get it ready by Frankfurt Fair. The work is the epistles of St. Paul. . . . (2) Next, on further reflection, I find that the Almighty and gracious God has visited us and illuminated us with the light of the truth, i.e., with God's Word, which we must truly believe if we are to become really blessed; that God has left us nothing on earth wherein to trust save the holy Gospel, which is His godly Word; that this we must believe and hold by and keep to; and further, we must direct our lives and actions by the rule of the Gospel, else we are not Christians. (3) And I find also, on reflection, that God has, in particular, so faithfully provided the town of Zürich with such a preacher that no better can be found in all Germany, and he is the praise and glory of Zürich . . . (5) I have therefore such confidence in you, my Lords, as to say that, if the Spirituality put us under penalties, and it is neither against God nor holy Scripture, you will protect and defend us in our godly rights. But if you, my Lords, charge yourselves with the affair and put me under penalties, then I have nothing against it, though I have not offended either against you or against God with my eating of flesh. . . .

Appendix B

Calvin's Account of His Religious Conversion[31]

. . . My father intended me as a young boy for theology. But when he saw that the science of law made those who cultivate it wealthy, he was led to change his mind by the hope of material gain. So it happened that I was called back from the study of philosophy to learn law. I followed my father's wish and attempted to do faithful work in this field; but God, by the secret leading of his providence, turned my course another way.

[31] John Calvin's *Commentaries*, trans. Joseph Haroutunian (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958), pp. 51–53.

First, when I was too firmly addicted to the papal superstitions to be drawn easily out of such a deep mire, by a sudden conversion He brought my mind (already more rigid than suited my age) to submission (to him). I was so inspired by a taste of true religion and I burned with such a desire to carry my study further, that although I did not drop other subjects, I had no zeal for them. In less than a year, all who were looking for a purer doctrine began to come to learn from me, although I was a novice and a beginner.

Then I, who was by nature a man of the country and a lover of shade and leisure, wished to find for myself a quiet hiding place—a wish which has never yet been granted me; for every retreat I found became a public lecture room. When the one thing I craved was obscurity and leisure, God fastened upon me so many cords of various kinds that he never allowed me to remain quiet, and in spite of my reluctance dragged me into the limelight.

I left my own country and departed for Germany to enjoy there, unknown, in some corner, the quiet long denied me. But lo, while I was hidden unknown at Basel, a great fire of hatred (for France) had been kindled in Germany by the exile of many godly men from France. To quench this fire, wicked and lying rumors were spread, cruelly calling the exiles Anabaptists and seditious men, men who threatened to upset, not only religion, but the whole political order with their perverse madness. I saw that this was a trick of those in (the French) court, not only to cover up with false slanders the shedding of the innocent blood of holy martyrs, but also to enable the persecutors to continue with the pitiless slaughter. Therefore I felt that I must make a strong statement against such charges; for I could not be silent without treachery. This was why I published the Institutes . . .

I desired no fame for myself from it; I planned to depart shortly, and no one knew that I was the writer (of the book). For I had kept my authorship secret and intended to continue to do so. But Wilhaim Farel forced me to stay in Geneva . . .

Appendix C

Calvin's Doctrine of Double Predestination[32]

The covenant of life not being equally preached to all, and among those to whom it is preached not always finding the same reception; this diversity discovers the wonderful depth of the divine judgment. Nor is it to be doubted that this variety also follows, subject to the decision of God's eternal election. If it be evidently the result of the divine will, that salvation is freely offered to some, and others are pre-

[32] Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. John Allen (London: T. Legg, 1844), II, 120–129.

vented from attaining it; this immediately gives rise to important and difficult questions, which are incapable of any other explication, than by the establishment of pious minds in what ought to be received concerning election and predestination:—a question, in the opinion of many, full of perplexity; for they consider nothing more unreasonable, than that of the common mass of mankind some should be predestinated to salvation, and others to destruction. But how unreasonably they perplex themselves will afterwards appear from the sequel of our discourse. Besides, the very obscurity which excites such dread, not only displays the utility of this doctrine, but shows it to be productive of the most delightful benefit. We shall never be clearly convinced as we ought to be, that our salvation flows from the fountain of God's free mercy, till we are acquainted with his eternal election, which illustrates the grace of God by this comparison, that he adopts not all promiscuously to the hope of salvation, but gives to some what he refuses to others. Ignorance of this principle evidently detracts from the divine glory, and diminishes real humility. But according to Paul, what is so necessary to be known, never can be known, unless God, without any regard to works, chooses those whom he has decreed. . . . If we need to be recalled to the origin of election, to prove that we obtain salvation from no other source than the mere goodness of God, they who desire to extinguish this principle, do all they can to obscure what ought to be magnificently and loudly celebrated, and to pluck up humility by the roots. In ascribing the salvation of the remnant of the people to the election of grace, Paul clearly testifies, that it is then only known that God saves whom he will of his mere good pleasure, and does not dispense a reward to which there can be no claim. They who shut the gates to prevent any one from presuming to approach and taste this doctrine, do no less injury to man than to God; for nothing else will be sufficient to produce in us suitable humility, or to impress us with a due sense of our great obligations to God. Nor is there any other basis for solid confidence, even according to the authority of Christ, who, to deliver us from all fear, and render us invincible amidst so many dangers, snares, and deadly conflicts, promises to preserve in safety all whom the Father hath committed to his care. Whence we infer, that they who know not themselves to be God's peculiar people will be tortured with continual anxiety; and therefore, that the interest of all the faithful, as well as their own, is very badly consulted by those who, blind to the three advantages we have remarked, would wholly remove the foundation of our salvation. And hence the church rises to our view, which otherwise, as Bernard justly observes, could neither be discovered nor recognized among creatures, being in two respects wonderfully concealed in the bosom of a blessed predestination, and in the mass of a miserable damnation. . . .

Predestination, by which God adopts some to the hope of life, and adjudges others to eternal death, no one, desirous of the credit of piety, dares absolutely to deny. But it is involved in many cavils, especially by those who make foreknowledge the cause of it. We maintain, that both belong to God; but it is preposterous to represent one as dependent on the other. When we attribute foreknowledge to God, we mean that all things have ever been, and perpetually remain before his eyes, so that to his knowledge nothing is future or past, but all things are present: and present in such a manner, that he does not merely conceive of them from ideas formed in his mind, as things remembered by us appear present to our minds, but really beholds and sees them as if actually placed before him. And this foreknowledge extends to the whole world and to all the creatures. Predestination we call the eternal decree of God, by which he hath determined in himself, what he would have to become of every individual of mankind. For they are not all created with a similar destiny; but eternal life is fore-ordained for some, and eternal damnation for others. Every man, therefore, being created for one or the other of these ends, we say, he is predestinated either to life or to death. . . .

We must now proceed to a second degree of election, still more restricted, or that in which the divine grace was displayed in a more special manner, when of the same race of Abraham God rejected some, and by nourishing others in the church, proved that he retained them among his children. Ishmael at first obtained the same station as his brother Isaac, for the spiritual covenant was equally sealed in him by the symbol of circumcision. He is cut off; afterwards Esau; lastly, an innumerable multitude, and almost all Israel. In Isaac the seed was called: the same calling continued in Jacob. God exhibited a similar example in the rejection of Saul, which is magnificently celebrated by the psalmist; "He refused the tabernacle of Joseph, and chose not the tribe of Ephraim; but chose the tribe of Judah" (Ps. 78:67, 68): And this the sacred history frequently repeats, that the wonderful secret of divine grace may be more manifest in that change. I grant, it was by their own crime and guilt that Ishmael, Esau, and persons of similar characters, fell from the adoption; because the condition annexed was, that they should faithfully keep the covenant of God, which they perfidiously violated. Yet it was a peculiar favour of God, that he deigned to prefer them to other nations, as it is said in the Psalms: "He hath not dealt so with any nation; and as for his judgments, they have not known them" (Ps. 147:20). But I have justly said that here are two degrees to be remarked; for in the election of the whole nation, God hath already shown that in his mere goodness he is bound by no laws, but is perfectly free, so that none can require of him an equal distribution of grace, the inequality of which demonstrates it to be truly gratuitous. Therefore Malachi ag-

gravates the ingratitude of Israel, because, though not only elected out of the whole race of mankind, but also separated from a sacred family to be a peculiar people, they perfidiously and impiously despised God their most beneficent Father. "Was not Esau Jacob's brother? saith the Lord: yet I loved Jacob, and I hated Esau" (Mal. 1:2, 3). For God takes it for granted, since both were sons of a holy father, successors of the covenant, and branches from a sacred root, that the children of Jacob were already laid under more than common obligations by their admission to that honour; but Esau the first-born having been rejected, and their father, though inferior by birth, having been made the heir, he proves them guilty of double ingratitude, and complains of their violating this two-fold claim.

. . . In conformity, therefore, to the clear doctrine of the scripture, we assert, that by an eternal and immutable counsel, God hath once for all determined, both whom he would admit to salvation, and whom he would condemn to destruction. We affirm that this counsel, as far as concerns the elect, is founded on his gratuitous mercy, totally irrespective of human merit: but that to those whom he devotes to condemnation, the gate of life is closed by a just and irreprehensible, but incomprehensible, judgment. In the elect, we consider calling as an evidence of election, and justification as another token of its manifestation, till they arrive in glory, which constitutes its completion. As God seals his elect by vocation and justification, so by excluding the reprobate from the knowledge of his name and the sanctification of his Spirit, he affords an indication of the judgment that awaits them. Here I shall pass over many fictions fabricated by foolish men to overthrow predestination. It is unnecessary to refute things which, as soon as they are advanced, sufficiently prove their falsehood. I shall dwell only on those things which are subjects of controversy among the learned, or which may occasion difficulty to simple minds, on which impiety speciously pleads in order to stigmatize the divine justice.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Contrast the Zwinglian and Lutheran reforms.
2. Illustrate the Humanist influences upon Zwingli and resulting emphases in the early Swiss Reformation.
3. What accounts for the relatively easier success of the Swiss Reformation in its early phase as compared with Luther's reform?
4. How did the Swiss reform begin? What incidents precipitated it? How were these incidents related to Zwingli's preaching? (See Appendix A as well as text.)

5. What changes resulted from the three disputations in Zurich?
6. How did Calvin become a reformer? (Read Calvin's own account of his conversion in Appendix B as well as text.)
7. Why is Calvin's *Institutes* so important? Under what main headings is the argument of the book organized?
8. What paradox is contained in Calvin's stress on God's sovereignty and the related idea of predestination?
9. Why did Calvin push the doctrine of predestination as far as he did, especially on its negative side?
10. How does Calvinism differ from Lutheran and Anabaptist teaching with regard to the social application of religion?
11. What is Calvin's theory of the ministry of the church? To what extent may Calvin's theory of the church and its ministry be described as democratic?
12. Compare the teachings of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin concerning the Lord's Supper.

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Chapter 20

THE RADICAL REFORMATION

THE ANABAPTISTS. In every center of continental reform —Wittenberg, Zurich, Strassburg, and elsewhere—there arose reformers who wanted to carry the Reformation to what they considered to be its logical conclusion. From their point of view Luther and Zwingli were "half-way reformers." Inner coherence and a unified sense of purpose emerged only gradually among these more radical reformers, although it did eventually become clear that what was really at stake was a fundamental conviction about the nature of the church. All of these radical reformers shared the conviction that the True Church was a free association of heart-felt believers. Since it was not to be expected that the total population of any community would ever give unanimous endorsement to such a belief, it became necessary for those who did hold to this doctrine to insist upon the separation of church and state, an insistence which has had important consequences for present-day religious and civil liberties in American life.

All the great concepts for which American democracy stands today, individual rights, freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, self-government, and complete religious liberty are concepts coming out of the left-wing phase of the Reformation.[1]

ORIGIN OF THE NAME. "Anabaptist" means literally "rebaptizer." It was not a designation chosen or accepted by the individuals and groups to which it was applied, but originated as a scornful epithet used by Lutherans and Zwinglians to describe those who broke with the state church concept and rejected the theory and practice of infant bap-

[1] W. W. Sweet, *The American Churches, An Interpretation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1948), p. 15.

tism. The use of the name made it possible to invoke the ancient law of the Justinian code against rebaptizers (Donatists), which carried with it the death penalty. Anabaptists themselves rejected the name, because, as they said, infant baptism was not true baptism and they ought not therefore to be considered rebaptizers. "Brethren" was the name they most commonly used, with various modifying terms such as Swiss Brethren, Hutterian Brethren, Polish Brethren, South German Brethren, and the like.

The strength of the Anabaptist movement may be judged by the fact that all the later writings of the more conservative branches of the Reformation defended the evangelical faith against two common foes, the Roman Catholic Church on the one hand, and the Anabaptists, on the other. Calvin's writings make this clear, as may be seen by looking at the *Institutes* or the letter to Francis I with which Calvin prefaced the *Institutes*. The recognition of a common threat led Catholics and Protestants to combine against Anabaptists at the Diet of Speier (1529) and the Diet of Augsburg (1530) and to invoke against them the old Roman law of heresy. The newly reaffirmed law was enforced rigorously in Roman Catholic lands, especially in Austria and Bavaria, but in Lutheran territories the Anabaptists were treated not as heretics but as seditionists and given the opportunity to emigrate.[2]

BEGINNING OF THE ANABAPTIST MOVEMENT. It has been customary in the past to trace the origin of the Anabaptist movement back to the radicalism in Wittenberg of the year 1521 under the leadership of Carlstadt, Zwilling, and the "prophets from Zwickau." A distorted picture of the movement has been presented, particularly because of the prominence given Thomas Muenzer, one of the radicals of Zwickau, and his support of the Peasant Revolt, together with Luther's subsequent condemnation of violence and his labeling of Muenzer and men like him as fanatics. The later Anabaptist experiment in religious communism at Münster in Westphalia

2 Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church* (rev. ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), p. 328.

under the leadership of John of Leiden gave the whole Anabaptist movement the unjustified reputation of being little better than a revolutionary movement.

A different picture of the beginnings of Anabaptism emerges from recent studies based upon better sources of information than were formerly available.[3] For one thing there is an increased awareness of the variety which existed within the Anabaptist movement. The most important result of modern research, however, has been recognition that the proper place to begin the study of Anabaptist origins is at Zurich in connection with men like Grebel and Manz rather than in Wittenberg with Muenzer and Carlstadt.[4]

Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz were youthful members of prominent Zurich families when they assumed leadership of the local Anabaptist group. Balthazar Hübmaier was an older man, a priest, and the scholar of the group. The differences between these men and Zwingli, whose lead they had originally followed, appeared only gradually.[5] The radicals took no part in the so-called "first disputation" at Zurich (January 29, 1523). In the second disputation, held October 26–28 of the same year, again the controversy was one between the Reformed party and the Bishop of Zurich. Zwingli attacked the Mass, and his associate, Leo Jud, the use of images.[6] This time, however, the radical party made its appearance under the leadership of Grebel, Manz, and Hübmaier, who argued that the governing principle of the Reformation should be carried to its logical conclusion and that nothing be accepted as religiously authoritative unless explicitly affirmed in the Scriptures. The baptism of infants, for example, had no such authorization, as Zwingli himself

[3] For a summary of recent research, see F. H. Littell, *The Anabaptist View of the Church* (Chicago: American Society of Church History, 1952), chap. i, and G. H. Williams and A. M. Mergal (eds.), *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1957), pp. 27–28.

[4] Littell, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[5] See Appendix A for the account in the "Hutterite Chronicle" of the beginnings of the Zurich group.

[6] B. J. Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), p. 409.

admitted to Hübmaier on May 1, 1523.[7] The radical group maintained their position so firmly and resisted Zwingli so boldly that on January 17, 1525, the council decreed infant baptism and ordered the radicals to be silent.[8] Then, on January 21, probably in the home of Felix Manz in Zurich, Conrad Grebel baptized George Blaurock, in clear defiance of the Council's requirement of infant (as opposed to adult) baptism.[9] The issue was now drawn.

Opposition to the baptism of children had moved over to Believers' Baptism; Scriptural radicalism had moved from opposition to what was outside the Bible over to a positive position. On March 16, 1525, the council decreed that all who would henceforth be rebaptized should be exiled. The Anabaptists, in return, nourished the most bitter resentment toward those who had refused to go the whole way on the New Testament pattern. They called Zwingli "more false than the Old Pope," and "the Zurich popular preachers the true anti-Christs." The breach between the party of the Reformers and the radical New Testament party was thus complete.[10]

In the weeks immediately succeeding the baptism of Blaurock by Grebel, revival meetings were held in several small places not far from Zurich at which believers were baptized by sprinkling and in one case by immersion. In response to this disregard of regularly constituted authority, the Zurich council then ordered that Anabaptists should be drowned, a punishment grotesquely caricaturing their belief.[11] Grebel, Manz, and others were arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment for disobedience to the city council's decrees, but escaped. Manz was later recaptured and executed by drowning, January 25, 1527, and thus became the first Anabaptist martyr. Grebel had died of the plague a few months earlier, thus probably escaping a martyr's end. Hübmaier was imprisoned and tortured in Zurich, and then released, but was later burned to death in Vienna on March

[7] See Appendix B.
[8] See Appendix C.
[9] See Appendix D.
[10] Littell, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–29.
[11] See Appendix E.

10, 1528. During the third and fourth decades of the sixteenth century, hundreds of Anabaptists were killed by drowning and beheading and burning.

CAUSES AND RESULTS OF PERSECUTION. Why were the Anabaptists so harshly persecuted? If we could answer this question adequately, we should understand the essential meaning of the Anabaptist movement in religious history. One thing is clear: they were not persecuted because of any moral failure. Zwinglian and Catholic Zurichers alike admitted their high standards. A Catholic observer found in them "no lying, deception, swearing, strife, harsh language, no intemperate eating and drinking, no outward personal display, but rather humility, patience, uprightness, meekness, honesty, temperance, straightforwardness in such measure that one would suppose they had the Holy Spirit of God."[12]

Misunderstanding and suspicion played their part in the persecution of the Anabaptists. Certainly Luther misrepresented the real character of the Anabaptists when he classed them all with Thomas Muenzer, who so willingly resorted to violence. Great damage was done to the reputation of these radical reformers, also, by the Münster episode (1533–34), when, under religious excitement encouraged by eschatological hopes, an attempt was made to establish a new Jerusalem, in which believers should be separated from unbelievers, and God himself, through his duly chosen leaders, should rule the city. The fact of the matter is that this attempt at religious revolution was something very different from the description given by the enemies of the Anabaptists. The communism practiced there was an attempt to emulate the pooling of goods of the early Jerusalem church as described in the Book of Acts. As for polygamy, it must be remembered that the Bible, on which the so-called Restitution was based, is itself ambiguous. Nor was the rejection of infant baptism by Anabaptists a sufficient cause for the deep hostility they aroused. Thus there must have been other factors that contributed to the bitter opposition the Anabaptists encountered.

[12] Quoted in R. H. Bainton, *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1952), p. 97.

What, then, was the underlying reason for this fear of the Anabaptists? It was, in a word, their challenge to the existing social order. This is seen in the fact that the ancient law used against the Donatists and reactivated to penalize the Anabaptists had actually been aimed at the Donatists as disturbers of the peace, although the charge made was a religious one.[13] The reapplication of this law to the Anabaptists was similarly occasioned by their revolutionary defiance of the state church. Hitherto, European Christianity had been organized along the lines of an established church. It did not matter whether that church was Roman Catholic, as it had been throughout most of Europe's history, or Lutheran territorial churches, or the Reformed church type working closely with the elected civil authorities. The Anabaptists represented a threat to the *status quo* in church-state relationships. The danger they represented was not mere nonconformity; it was a revolution in regard to the theory of the church and its relation to the state. Seen in this light, it is easy to understand the ferocity with which Catholics and Protestants alike turned upon the Anabaptists and sought to destroy them.

The result of persecution was not extinction but diffusion and expansion. The important centers of Anabaptism in Switzerland were St. Gall, Bern, and Basel. The case of Bern is of especial interest, because the majority of Swiss Brethren who came to America were descendants of Bernese families. Basel offered a congenial atmosphere to many Anabaptist leaders in the early days of the movement in Switzerland. Erasmus had been a dominant figure at the University of Basel since 1514, and his emphasis upon a return to the original languages of the Bible and the development of ethical, inward religion served as an inspiration to many of the early Anabaptist leaders.

In 1527, however, the Zurich city council called a meeting attended by Reform leaders of the Swiss cities of Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen, Chur, Appenzell, and St. Gall, and the South German cities of Ulm and Augsburg, at which agreement

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 98.

was reached on a common policy for the expulsion of Anabaptists. A special division of police was created to accomplish this purpose (*Taufer Jäger,* or Baptist hunters). The result of persecution in the Swiss cities was to drive the Anabaptists into South Germany and the Tyrol. It was at Waldshut, one of these South German border towns, that the congregational form of church organization was begun when Hübmaier resigned his office as priest of the local community and was at once re-elected by the congregation as their minister. "This is a most significant point in Anabaptist history, for it introduced the congregational principle of government."[14] This congregation eventually reverted, under pressure, to Catholicism. Hübmaier himself escaped, was imprisoned for a short time in Zurich, and finally made his way to Nikolsburg, Moravia, where he provided leadership for a large Anabaptist congregation until July, 1527, when he was surrendered to the Austrian authorities. Hübmaier was burned at the stake in Vienna, March 10, 1528.

The Anabaptist movement enjoyed considerable success among the lower classes of southern Germany, in part because of the disillusionment of the peasants with Luther's approval of the bloody suppression of the peasants' rebellion. Lutheran propaganda in South Germany practically ceased, being replaced by Anabaptist missionary efforts. Even after the imperial Diets at Speier (1529) and Augsburg (1530), at which the Catholics and Protestants alike had agreed upon the death penalty for Anabaptists, the latter continued to seek converts. Nor was their sense of mission deterred by the territorial truce between Catholics and Protestant reformers reached at Augsburg. Oddly enough, Augsburg was the leading early center of Anabaptists in South Germany, succeeded by Strassburg, where unusual toleration was displayed toward the sectarians for a time.

THE OLDEST ANABAPTIST ARTICLES OF FAITH. It was one of the leaders of the Anabaptist congregations in Strassburg, Michael Sattler, who later presided over an Anabaptist coun-

[14] Littell, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

cil at Schlatten am Randen on February 24, 1527, at which seven articles of faith were adopted. These articles were never actually printed, but were passed from hand to hand in manuscript form. The seven articles may be condensed as follows:

1. *Believers' Baptism.* Baptism should be administered, not to infants, but to those who have been taught repentance and have experienced a change of life.

2. *Excommunication.* Those who have been baptized and later have fallen into sin should be excommunicated. However, this should be done only after sinners have been admonished twice in secret and once publicly before the church.

3. *The Lord's Supper.* Participation in the breaking of bread is for those who have been united through baptism in the church, considered as the body of Christ.

4. *Separation from Evil.* It is the duty of Christians to have no commerce with evil or evil-doers. ". . . whatever is not united with our God and Christ is nothing else than an abomination which we ought to avoid. Here we perceive all papistical and secundo-papistical works and contentions of idolatry, processions to churches, houses of feastings, states and alliances of unbelief and many other things similar to these which are held in honor in the world, when nevertheless they fight and lead directly against the precept of Christ according to the measure of unrighteousness which is in the world. From all these we ought to be alien and separate . . ."

5. *The Pastorate.* The duties of the pastor "are to read, admonish, teach, instruct, exhort, correct or *communicate* in the church, and to preside well over all the brethren and sisters as well in prayer as in the breaking of bread, and in all things that pertain to the body of Christ to watch how it may be sustained and increased, that the name of God may be honored and praised through us, but the mouth of blasphemy may be stopped." The pastor is to be elected and may be rejected by the congregation, but if accusations are brought against him, no action may be taken except on the testimony of two or three witnesses. If the pastor is expelled or "led to the Lord through the cross," another pastor is to succeed him promptly for the safeguarding of the flock.

6. *Refusal to Participate in the Civil Order.* The sword is to be rejected, excommunication being the only discipline to be used against the one who has sinned. The magistracy of the world (civil government) is a necessary evil, but Christians should not participate in the civil government as magistrates or other officials.

7. *Oaths.* Swearing in confirmation of litigation changes nothing and is expressly forbidden in the words of Christ. All who seek Christ should imitate his simplicity and sincerity.[15]

SECT VERSUS CHURCH. These Anabaptist articles of faith provide a good example of the distinction between church and sect so well set forth by Professor Ernst Troeltsch of Heidelberg. The church, as a type of religious organization, is inclusive and identifies itself with the whole community. The sect, in its ideal, is exclusive; it represents the original Christian concept of the *ecclesia,* "those called out of the world." The church feels a responsibility toward society and its various institutions, economic, social and political, and experiences the temptation of conservatism, of identifying herself with the existing order of things. The sects, being small groups, have neither opportunity nor temptation to dominate society, and so they take an attitude which ranges from tolerance through indifference to active hostility toward the social order. Members of sects are individualistic in their religious attitude and their goal is personal, inward perfection. The church tends to identify itself with the upper classes, the sect with the lower classes.

Troeltsch gives the following classic description and evaluation of the Anabaptist sect:

> Their real strength lay in the emphasis which they gave to their desire to be a "holy community," "holy" in the sense of the Sermon on the Mount, and implying a voluntary community composed of mature Christians. In practice this "holiness" was expressed in the following ways: in detachment from the State, from all official positions, from law, force, and the oath, and from war, violence, and capital punishment; the quiet endurance of suffering and injustice as their share in the Cross of Christ, the intimate social relationship of the members with each other through care for the poor and the provision of relief funds, so that within these groups no one was allowed to beg or to starve; strict control over the Church members through the exercise of excommunication and congregational discipline. Their form of worship was a simple service, purely Scriptural in character, conducted by elected preachers and pastors who had been ordained by the

[15] Abridged from W. J. McGlothlin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1911), pp. 2–9.

laying-on of hands, and prayer by the synods representing the local group.[16]

THE HUTTERITES. The Anabaptists wore out their welcome even in Strassburg by the mid-1530's. Thousands of them, fleeing South Germany and the Tyrol, found refuge in Moravia. Some of the Moravian Brethren, however, did not think the church at Nikolsburg, where they had settled, really corresponded to the model of Christian life depicted in the Book of Acts. Accordingly, about two hundred of them, under the leadership of Jacob Widemann, left Nikolsburg and established communistic colonies upon the land. Their leader from 1533 to 1535 was Jacob Hutter; thus they have since been known as the Hutterite Brethren. They were fortunate in having other able leaders after Hutter was put to death in 1536. The Hutterites survived in Moravia until 1622, remained in Hungary until 1622, later settled in South Russia, and finally emigrated in 1874 to South Dakota. They may now be found in several north-central states of the United States, in Canada, and in Paraguay.

The Hutterites represent one line of development of the Swiss Brethren. In their attempt to establish a fully Christian society "unspotted by the world," they have created a kind of Protestant monasticism, although carried out on a family basis. Later on the Shakers, a somewhat similar group originating in England, were to introduce the rule of celibacy.

THE MENNONITES. The other main line of development in the history of the Swiss Brethren took place among the Mennonites of Holland, who seem to have reached the Low Countries at an early date. It is known, at least, that Anabaptists from the Netherlands arrived in Geneva in 1537 to challenge Farel to a disputation. The Brethren in Holland found a strong leader in the person of Menno Simons (1496–1561) who had been a Roman Catholic priest but left the Church in 1536. Menno Simons spent the rest of his life as a street-corner preacher. With a price upon his head, he traveled from town to town organizing the Anabaptist movement in Hol-

[16] Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1931), II, 695–96.

land. He urged his followers to shun the dark and obscure passages of the New Testament, with their prophecies of the end of the age, and to practice the plain teachings of the Sermon on the Mount.

Menno Simons and his followers represent a different tendency within the Anabaptist movement from that embodied in the Hutterite colonies, yet one which was present from the earliest Anabaptist beginnings: the missionary impulse "to make disciples of all nations" (Matt. 28:19). Such an ideal requires some accommodation of the church to the world, a greater degree of toleration of the civil order than many Anabaptists had been willing to grant. Menno Simons was willing to recognize that the civil magistrate was ordained of God and might even be a Christian. The way for Anabaptists in Holland was made easier because they were the only Protestant party in the country. Eventually, after religious toleration became the law of the land, Mennonites in Holland occupied a respected place in the social order and are today more like a conventional Protestant denomination in that country than like the isolated Hutterite or Mennonite communities in the United States.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

Beginnings of the Anabaptist Reformation in Zurich[17]

[This is an excerpt from the Hutterite Chronicle of 1525, thought to be a transcript of George Blaurock's reminiscences of the earliest years of the Anabaptist movement in Zurich.]

But because God wished to have his own people, separated from all peoples, he willed for this purpose to bring in the right true morning star of his truth to shine in fullness in the final age of this world, especially in the German nation and lands, the same to strike

[17] Excerpt from the "Hutterite Chronicle" (1525), in *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers* ("The Library of Christian Classics," Vol. XXV [Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1957]), pp. 42–46 (parts).

home with his Word and to reveal the ground of divine truth. In order that his holy work might be made known and revealed before everyman, there developed first in Switzerland an extraordinary awakening and preparation by God as follows:

It came to pass that Ulrich Zwingli and Conrad Grebel, one of the aristocracy, and Felix Mantz—all three much experienced and men learned in the German, Latin, Greek, and also the Hebrew languages —came together and began to talk through matters of belief among themselves and recognized that infant baptism is unnecessary and recognized further that it is in fact no baptism. Two, however, Conrad and Felix, recognized in the Lord and believed (further) that one must and should be correctly baptized according to the Christian ordinance and institution of the Lord, since Christ himself says that whoever *believes* and is baptized will be saved. Ulrich Zwingli, who shuddered before Christ's cross, shame, and persecution, did not wish this and asserted that an uprising would break out. The other two, however, Conrad and Felix, declared that God's clear commandment and institution could not for that reason be allowed to lapse.

At this point it came to pass that a person from Chur came to them, namely, a cleric named George of the House of Jacob, commonly called "Bluecoat" (*Blaurock*). . . . He first came to Zwingli and discussed matters of belief with him at length, but accomplished nothing. Then he was told that there were other men more zealous than Zwingli. These men he inquired for diligently and found them, namely, Conrad Grebel and Felix Mantz. With them he spoke and talked through matters of faith. They came to one mind in these things, and in the pure fear of God they recognized that a person must learn from the divine Word and preaching a true faith which manifests itself in love, and receive the true Christian baptism on the basis of the recognized and confessed faith, in the union with God of a good conscience, (prepared) henceforth to serve God in a holy Christian life with all godliness, also to be steadfast to the end in tribulation. And it came to pass that they were together until fear (*Angst*) began to come over them, yea, they were pressed (*gedrungen*) in their hearts. Thereupon, they began to bow their knees to the Most High God in heaven and called upon him as the Knower of hearts, implored him to enable them to do his divine will and to manifest his mercy toward them. For flesh and blood and human forwardness did not drive them, since they well knew what they would have to bear and suffer on account of it. After the prayer, George Cajacob [Blaurock] arose and asked Conrad to baptize him, for the sake of God, with the true Christian baptism upon his faith and knowledge. And when he knelt down with that request and desire, Conrad baptized him, since at that time there was no ordained deacon (*Diener*) to perform such work. After that was done the others similarly desired George to baptize them,

which he also did upon their request. Thus they together gave themselves to the name of the Lord in the high fear of God. Each confirmed (*bestätet*) the other in the service of the gospel, and they began to teach and keep the faith. Therewith began the separation from the world and its evil works.

Soon thereafter several others made their way to them, for example, Balthasar Hubmaier of Friedberg, Louis Haetzer, and still others, men well instructed in the German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, very well versed in Scripture, some preachers and other persons, who were soon to have testified with their blood.

The above-mentioned Felix Mantz they drowned at Zurich because of this true belief and true baptism, who thus witnessed steadfastly with his body and life to the truth. . . .

Thus did it (the movement) spread through persecution and much tribulation. The church (*Gmain*) increased daily, and the Lord's people grew in numbers. This the enemy of the divine truth could not endure. He used Zwingli as an instrument, who thereupon began to write diligently and to preach from the pulpit that the baptism of believers and adults was not right and should not be tolerated—contrary to his own confession which he had previously written and taught, namely, that infant baptism cannot be demonstrated or proved with a single clear word from God. But now, since he wished rather to please men than God, he contended against the true Christian baptism. He also stirred up the magistracy to act on imperial authorization and behead as Anabaptists those who had properly given themselves to God, and with a good understanding had made covenant of a good conscience with God.

Finally it reached the point that over twenty men, widows, pregnant wives, and maidens were cast miserably into dark towers, sentenced never again to see either sun or moon as long as they lived, to end their days on bread and water, and thus in the dark towers to remain together, the living and the dead, until none remained alive—there to die, to stink, and to rot. Some among them did not eat a mouthful of bread in three days, just so that others might have to eat.

Soon also there was issued a stern mandate at the instigation of Zwingli that if any more people in the canton of Zurich should be rebaptized, they should immediately, without further trial, hearing, or sentence, be cast into the water and drowned. Herein one sees which spirit's child Zwingli was, and those of his party still are.

However, since the work fostered by God cannot be changed and God's counsel lies in the power of no man, the aforementioned men went forth, through divine prompting, to proclaim and preach the evangelical word and the ground of truth. George Cajacob or Blaurock went into the county of Tyrol. In the meantime Balthasar Hub-

maier came to Nicolsburg in Moravia, began to teach and preach. The people, however, accepted the teaching and many people were baptized in a short time.

Appendix B

Hübmaier Challenges Zwingli on Scriptural Basis for Infant Baptism[18]

[Balthasar Hübmaier, pastor of Waldshut (near Zurich) was one of the leaders of the radical party in Zurich. The aim of these radical reformers was to apply consistently the scriptural standard to Christian thought and practice. In this episode Hübmaier forced Zwingli to admit that there is no warrant in the Scriptures for infant baptism.]

In 1523, on Philip and James' day, I conferred with you (Zwingli) in Graben street upon the Scriptures relating to Baptism. Then and there you said I was right in saying that children should not be baptized before they were instructed in the faith; this had been the custom previously, therefore such (persons under instruction) were called catechumens. You promised to bring this out in your Exposition of the Articles, as you did in the XVIIIth Article, on Confirmation. Any one who reads it will find therein your opinion clearly expressed. Sebastian Rucensperger of St. Gall, then prior of Sion at Klingnau, was present. So you have also confessed in your book upon the unruly spirits, that those who baptized infants could quote no clear word in Scripture ordering them to baptize them. From this learn, friend Zwingli, how your conversation, writing, and preaching agree.

Appendix C

The Council Orders Infant Baptism and Silence[19]

[The Zurich council attempted to settle the debate over infant baptism by simply forbidding any further discussion, naming specific leaders who were prohibited from speaking.]

January 18.—Whereas an error has arisen respecting baptism, as if young children should not be baptized until they come to years of discretion and know what the faith is: and whereas some have ac-

[18] B. J. Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), pp. 451–452.

[19] Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation*, pp. 453–454.

cordingly neglected to have their children baptized, our Lords the Burgomaster, Council, and Great Council, have had a disputation held about this matter to learn what Holy Scripture has to say about it. As they have learned from it that, notwithstanding this error, children should be baptized as soon as they are born, all those therefore who have hitherto allowed their children to remain unbaptized, must have them baptized within the next week: and whosoever will not do this, must with wife and child, goods and chattels, leave our city, jurisdiction, and dominions, or await what will be done with him. Every one will accordingly know how to conduct himself. . . .

Jan. 21.—(1) To the preceding resolution about Baptism, it is now added that "the special disputations arranged to deal with such matters" are to be put away: in particular Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz are to abstain from "disputings and propositions" and "to fall in with my Lords' opinions," because hereafter no further disputation is to take place. If, however, they wish for any exception in the matter of belief, they may apply to the Burgomaster or to the three Overseers.

(2) Moreover, in order that there may be the more peace from such folk, it is further resolved that the following shall abjure my Lords' dominions, viz. the priest (William Röubli) of Wytikon, the assistant-curate (Brötli) of Zollikon, Ludwig Hetzer, and Andrew (Castelberger) uf der Stülzen; and leave the country within a week.

Appendix D

Anabaptists Defy Edict of Zurich Council[20]

[The radical leaders refused to obey the ban of the council and proceeded to practice adult baptism. This marks the beginning of the Radical Reformation in Switzerland.]

From (I) the Confession of Fourteen Imprisoned Anabaptists of Zollikon. . . . They admitted that they had been baptized, and had become "servants, bondmen, and subjects of God"; they would do whatever the Spirit of God prompted them, and not suffer themselves to be forced therefrom by any temporal magistrate. So far as they were not hindered by the Word of God, they would be my Lords' subjects. (II) . . . Rudolph Thomunn, of Zollikon, deposed that he had eaten the Last Supper with the old assistant-curate (Brötli?) and the (parson) of Wytikon (William Röubli), and had invited them to his house. . . . There many had assembled, so that the room was full; there was much speaking and long readings. Then stood up Hans Bruggbach of Zumikon, weeping and crying out that he was a great sinner, and asking them to pray God for him. Whereupon Blaurock

[20] Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation*, p. 454.

asked him if he desired the grace of God. "Yes," said he. Manz then stood up and said, "Who will hinder me from baptizing him?" Blaurock answered, "Nobody." So (Manz) took a bowl of water and baptized him in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. Whereupon James Hottinger stood up and desired baptism; and Felix Manz baptized him also. . . . Seeing the loaf on the table, Blaurock said, "Whosoever believes that God has redeemed him by His death and rosy-coloured blood . . . comes and eats with me from this loaf and drinks with me of this wine." Then several ate and drank thereof. . . .

Appendix E

The Council Orders Anabaptists to be Drowned[21]

[The council of Zurich decreed on March 7, 1526, that Anabaptists should be punished by drowning. Felix Manz was the first Anabaptist to suffer martyrdom in this manner.]

Whereas our Lords the Burgomaster, Council, and Great Council, have for some time past earnestly endeavoured to turn the misguided and erring Anabaptists from their errors; and yet several . . . to the injury of the public authority and the magistrates as well as to the ruin of the common welfare and of right Christian living, have proved disobedient; and several of them, men, women, and girls, have been by our Lords sharply punished and put into prison: Now therefore, by the earnest commandment, edict, and warning of our Lords aforesaid, it is ordered that no one in our town, country, or domain, whether man, woman, or girl, shall baptize another; and if any one hereafter shall baptize another, he will be seized by our Lords and, according to the decree now set forth, will be drowned without mercy. Wherefore every one knows how to order himself, and to take care that he bring not his own death upon himself.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. What did the various radical reformers have in common?
2. Why were they called "Anabaptists"? Was the use of this epithet valid? What other name or names might be used?

[21] Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation*, p. 455.

3. What difference does it make if one locates Anabaptist beginnings at Zurich rather than Wittenberg? (See Appendix A for an eyewitness account of early developments in Zurich.)
4. When and why was the issue drawn between the Zwinglian Reform, supported by the Zurich council, and the Radical Reformation? (See Appendices B, C, D, and E.)
5. What was the real reason for the harsh treatment meted out to the Anabaptists?
6. What are the basic emphases of the Anabaptist movement, judging by the Seven Articles adopted at the First Council Meeting in 1527?
7. Why did Ernst Troeltsch describe the Anabaptists in terms of "sect" rather than "church"?
8. What are some of the values preserved in the Anabaptist movement?
9. Contrast the Hutterites with the Dutch Mennonites for an example of differences existing within the Anabaptist movement from earliest times.

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Chapter 21

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION

CARDINAL XIMENES AND SPANISH REFORM. In 1517, the same year that Luther posted his ninety-five theses on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg, Cardinal Francisco Ximenes (or Jimenez) de Cisneros died in his eighty-first year. Cardinal Ximenes (1436-1517) had done his work well and had created the forces within the church that would soon counter the Lutheran reform. For Ximenes had been the guiding genius of Catholic revival in Spain that was to provide the pattern for the Catholic Reformation as a whole.

About 1480, Cardinal Ximenes, then vicar-general of the diocese of Siguenza under Bishop Mendoza, renounced his office and honors and became a Franciscan monk. He became not only a monk but a hermit, and practiced the severest asceticism. But after some years as a hermit, and then as a preacher, Ximenes was summoned in 1492 to become confessor to Queen Isabella, and then in 1496, against his own wishes, was appointed successor to Mendoza as archbishop of Toledo, an office with which was combined the chancellorship of Castile, involving great responsibility for political as well as religious life.

Ximenes, with the strong support of the Queen, instituted a thoroughgoing reform of all phases of church life in Spain. He tightened monastic discipline to a degree which caused a thousand monks to leave the country rather than to accept the new requirements. The archbishop believed in giving the clergy a thorough training in the Scriptures, although he did not advocate the reading of the Bible by laymen. He therefore founded the University of Alcala in 1498 and there assembled a distinguished faculty, among them four professors of Greek and Hebrew. Within twenty-five years of its

founding, the university had seven thousand students. It was at Alcala that the Complutensian (after *Complutum*, the Latin for Alcala) Polyglot edition of the Bible was completed in the years 1514–1517. In 1507 Ximenes was made both cardinal and grand inquisitor, and in the latter office he displayed a less attractive aspect of his reforming zeal in his harsh treatment of the Marranos and Moriscos, proselytes from Judaism and Islam respectively.

The outstanding characteristics of Catholic revival in Spain were severe moral and intellectual discipline, rigid orthodoxy, and mystical piety. Of this typically Spanish awakening, Ximenes was the "first great exemplar, a curious combination, a barefoot Franciscan and a cardinal, a crusader in arms and a friar in a hair shirt, a grand inquisitor and a Renaissance scholar, chancellor of the realm and rigid disciplinarian."[1]

CATHOLIC REVIVAL IN ITALY. Catholic reform in Italy began with the creation of the Oratory of Divine Love, a confraternity, or fellowship, dedicated to the spiritual renewal of its members and the moral reform of the Church. It was organized in Italy, with headquarters in Rome, toward the end of the reign of Pope Julius II (1303–1313). One member of the group in Rome was Cardinal Caraffa, later Pope Paul IV. Members of the society met for religious exercises, preached (in the case of those who were ordained), and took part in works of charity. The sack of Rome in 1527 by Emperor Charles V caused the group to leave Rome and re-establish themselves in Venice, where other eminent persons joined them. Pope Paul III later made six of their number cardinals and put them to work on a plan for the reform of the Church. The result of their labors was a controversial report which severely criticized former popes for the selling of benefices and, in general, for using the power of the keys for gain. The report contained so much plain speaking that it was decided not to publish it, but it did

[1] R. H. Bainton, *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1952), p. 20.

result in a number of reform commissions appointed by Pope Paul III and led eventually to the reforms carried out by the Council of Trent.

The Oratory of Divine Love inspired the rise of several religious foundations of which the Order of Theatines is the oldest. The Theatine order was based upon a new idea, that of a religious community made up not of monks but of regular priests who should live together under the usual three vows and administer the sacraments to the people like the secular clergy. Theatine priests said Mass daily and urged frequent communion upon those whom they served. The emphasis upon sincerity and reverence in the conduct of public worship demanded a deepening of spiritual life on the part of the priesthood. Therefore the Theatines developed the practice of "methodical prayer," at least one hour of prayer and meditation daily. From this time on every new order adopted this religious practice; older religious orders took it up also; and when the Council of Trent created seminaries for the training of the secular clergy, this daily hour of "methodical prayer" was made a requirement of seminary life.[2]

The example of the Theatines also inspired the rise of other orders of regular priests. The Barnabites differed from the Theatines in using open-air missions to take religion to the common people; they have been called the "democratic wing" of the Theatines. The Somaschi developed out of a concern for orphans, but the order eventually devoted itself to the needs of all the poor, building and maintaining hospitals and homes for the aged, and finally, in order to care for the souls as well as the bodies of the poor, the Somaschi became preachers as well. The Ursulines, founded in 1535, were the first teaching order of women in the Church and devoted themselves to the care of the sick and the education of young girls. The most important of the new orders of regular priests, however, was the Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1534.

[2] Philip Hughes, *A Popular History of the Reformation* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1957), p. 91.

IGNATIUS LOYOLA (1491–1556). The founder of the Jesuit order was a member of the lesser nobility from the Basque country of northern Spain. Medieval mysticism and the spirit of chivalry still survived in Spain in the period when Ignatius grew to manhood. Both had their influence upon him, but there was little reason in the beginning to believe that Ignatius would ever become a great religious leader. His schooling consisted of little more than instruction in reading and writing, considered good enough for a knight in that day, but a poor preparation for religious leadership. We know from Ignatius' own words that he took pride in the military life and had a strong ambition to make a name for himself.

The turning point in the life of Loyola coincided with a battle injury. While he was serving as an officer in the defense of Pamplona (1521) against French invaders, a cannonball shattered one leg and wounded the other. Loyola recovered from his injuries but was left with a permanent limp that meant the end of his career as a professional soldier.

During the long period of illness and convalescence which accompanied operations upon his shattered leg, Ignatius chanced to read a book entitled *Flowers of the Saints* and another on the life of Christ, and his thoughts began to turn in a new direction. Thoughts of spiritual chivalry now alternated with dreams of knightly exploits upon the field of battle. "What if I should do what St. Francis did? What if I should act like St. Dominic?" he thought.[3]

In March, 1522, restored to health, Ignatius made a journey to a famous shrine of the Virgin Mary in the Benedictine monastery on Montserrat, near Barcelona, having a still further pilgrimage to Jerusalem as his ultimate goal. At Montserrat he spent a long time in prayer and then, with the consent of a Benedictine monk who served as his confessor, spent three days in writing out a general confession of all his sins. Next he gave away his horse and hung his sword and dagger on the wall beside the altar of the Virgin Mary.

[3] *The Autobiography of St. Ignatius,* ed. J. F. X. O'Conor (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1900), p. 25.

As evening approached he gave his fine clothing to a beggar and donned his pilgrim's garb. It was the night of the Assumption. Now in the medieval manner of knights on the eve of receiving their knighthood, Ignatius kept an all-night vigil, alternately kneeling and standing before the altar of Our Lady of Montserrat, thus dedicating himself to the service of God. The next morning at daybreak, after receiving communion, he went quickly to the nearby town of Manresa which was to be his home for nearly a year. At first he lived in a Manresan hospital, then in a small cell of a Dominican monastery. He spent much time in prayer and fasting, attending Mass, making confession, and taking the sacrament weekly. He begged his food from door to door.

In the spring of 1523 Ignatius felt that it was time to carry out his plan to go to Jerusalem. He sailed from Venice in July, 1523, disembarking at Jaffa, September 1, and went from there up to Jerusalem. Ignatius wanted to remain and devote his life to the conversion of the Muslims, but the provincial of the Franciscans, to whom the care of the holy places in Palestine was entrusted, ordered him under pain of ecclesiastical censure to leave Palestine and return home. So Loyola turned back, arriving in Barcelona in March, 1524, still resolved to work for the greater glory of God, but as yet without any clear vision of how to go about it.

Recognizing the need of further education, Loyola at the age of thirty-three began the study of elementary Latin, sitting side by side with children in a boys' school in Barcelona for two years, from 1524 to 1526. He continued his studies at the University of Alcala and, later, at the University of Salamanca. Eventually, in 1528, Ignatius went to Paris, the center of theological education in Europe, where he spent the next seven years studying at the Sorbonne. After three and a half years of philosophical training, he received his master's degree and then devoted his energies to the study of theology. It is interesting to note that Loyola and Calvin were, for a time, contemporaries at the Sorbonne—Calvin, who was to write the *Institutes,* the most influential book of the Protestant Reformation, and Loyola, who had already composed at least the first draft of the *Spiritual Ex-*

ercises, destined to become the most influential manual of the Catholic Reformation.

Loyola proved himself a born leader by gathering around him in Paris the nucleus of what was to be known later as the Society of Jesus. There were ten members in all. One of them was Pierre LeFevre (1506–46), Loyola's roommate. Another was Francis Xavier, a young teacher who had become estranged from the Church and whom Loyola won back to the Catholic faith. On August 15, 1534, seven of the group —others were added later—took vows of poverty and chastity and resolved to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, or if that should prove impossible, to place themselves at the service of the pope, to be used as he saw fit. Early in 1537 the little company gathered in Venice in hope of finding transportation to Palestine, but the war between the Turks and Venice made passage out of the question. While in Venice Loyola met Cardinal Caraffa, a member of the Theatine Order, and got from him the idea of a society of regular priests, patterned after the new system which had already proved so effective among a number of Italian reform groups.

In the autumn of 1537, released by events from the vow to make a pilgrimage, the members of the group set out individually for Rome to seek the pope's blessing. In Rome, where the group had been given authority by Cardinal Caraffa to preach and administer the sacraments, Ignatius and the others created something of a scandal by their practice of frequent communion, preaching without wearing monastic garb, and delivering sermons after Easter, when for long it had been customary in Rome to preach sermons only during Advent and Lent.[4] These "reformed priests" seemed to be overdoing religion according to the less rigorous, more complacent Roman clergy, but they found a warm response from the ordinary people, who welcomed their preaching and charitable activity.

In preparation for the organization of their order, the members of the band now agreed upon a vow of general and absolute submission to the pope in addition to the usual

[4] Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages* (36 vols.; St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1902–50), XII, 20.

three vows. Ignatius prepared the rough draft of a constitution for the order which was presented to Pope Paul III by Cardinal Contarini. The pope, after hearing Contarini's report, is said to have exclaimed: "There is the finger of God."[5] The papal bull authorizing the organization of the Society of Jesus was issued September 27, 1540, and Ignatius Loyola was named the first general of the order, an office he was to hold until his death in 1556.

SHOCK TROOPS OF THE POPE. It was natural that Loyola, originally a military man, should describe the Society of Jesus in its charter, called the *Constitutions,* as a (military) Company of Jesus. The wording of the *Constitutions* bears out this characterization.[6] The Society of Jesus was well-equipped to become, as a Protestant historian has put it, "the advance guard of the Counter-Reformation," using as its most effective weapons "preaching, the confessional, its excellent schools . . . and its foreign missions."[7]

Several members of the original Paris group, in addition to the founder, became famous. Lainez, Loyola's successor as general, was to play an important role in the final phase of the Council of Trent, where he became papal theologian, and in addition, as the general of the Jesuit order, he was to have both voice and vote in the council meetings. LeFevre (better known as Peter Faber) devoted most of his efforts to the cause of Catholic reform in Germany, with brief visits to Spain and Portugal. Another member of the Paris group, Francis Xavier (1506–1552), became one of the most famous missionaries in Christian history. He worked for the Jesuit order in Rome until 1540, spent some months in Portugal, and then in 1541 sailed to India, working not only in Goa, the Portuguese headquarters in India, but in other parts of South India and Ceylon as well. He sailed to Malacca in the Malay peninsula in 1545, visited the Moluccas (Spice Islands) in 1546, returned to Malacca (1547) and then in

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 33.

[6] See Appendix A.

[7] Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), p. 377.

1549 landed at Kagoshima, Japan, where he and his companions established numerous Christan communities. After a return visit to Goa in 1552, Xavier sailed to China where he died before he could begin his mission.

The Jesuit faith in education displayed itself early. In 1552 the Jesuits established the Collegium Germanicum in Rome as a center for the training of missionaries to German Protestants. The Jesuits established themselves in the Netherlands as early as 1541. They had greater difficulty in getting a foothold in France, because of strong nationalist feeling there. In Spain the Jesuits had trouble, at first, because of Dominican opposition, but eventually gained power and influence in that country. The success of Jesuit educational work may be judged by the fact that at the opening of the eighteenth century there were as many as 769 Jesuit collegiate and university establishments with a total enrollment of approximately two hundred thousand.

Largely as a result of Jesuit activity, the Roman Church was soon able to reclaim much Protestant territory. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Protestant Reformation had become firmly rooted in all of Europe north of the Alps, with the exception of France and the Netherlands, where the issue was still in doubt. The Roman Catholic Church was thus in danger of losing most if not all of Europe, unless it found a way of recovering its leadership. It did find a way, and this recovery is known as the Catholic Reformation, or as it is sometimes called, the Counter-Reformation. The method of recovery was two-fold: first, internal reform through such movements as we have described; and second, spiritual reconquest of lost territory. Largely through Jesuit efforts, much Protestant territory was won back to the Roman Church, especially in western and southern Germany, France, Hungary, and Poland. Jesuits, along with Capuchins, were also active in Switzerland, where they retained much of the country for the Catholic Church. Not only did the Jesuits stem and even turn back the tide of Protestantism; they also revitalized Catholic life in countries that had remained Catholic. The Jesuits were the chief leaders of reform within

the Church. In the period since the Reformation, Jesuits have done outstanding work in missions, both foreign and home, and in education. They have surpassed even the Franciscans in winning for the Roman Church large parts of the New World, especially Latin America. Their schools and colleges girdle the globe.

THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES OF LOYOLA. The *Spiritual Exercises* are an achievement as great as anything Ignatius Loyola ever accomplished. This manual is an outgrowth of Ignatius' own religious development and his experience of religious counseling. It should be remembered that it is "not a book to be read . . . but a program to be worked through . . . thirty days of continuous, carefully planned, ordered meditations."[8] "The Pilgrim," Ignatius once said of himself, "observed in his soul now this, now that, and found it profitable; then, thought he, this might also be useful to others, and so wrote it down."[9] Ignatius believed that his call to serve the Church came during the period of his convalescence after the battle at Pamplona, that the suffering of this period had been the molten crucible in which his life had been spiritually recast and reoriented in terms of religious rather than military service. The purpose of the *Exercises,* used by Ignatius as a manual for the training of members of his Company of Jesus, was to put his recruits through this same process of personality remoulding, to help them to dedicate their lives in single-minded devotion to the will of God.

> In every good Election, as far as regards ourselves, the eye of our intention ought to be single, looking only to the end for which I was created, which is, for the praise of God our Lord, and for the salvation of my soul. And thus whatever I choose ought to be for this, that it should help me to the end for which I was created; not ordering and drawing the end to the means, but the means to the end.[10]

[8] Hughes, *op. cit.,* p. 294.
[9] Pastor, *op. cit.,* p. 9.
[10] *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius* (4th ed.; Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1943), p. 54.

It is possible to relate a considerable part of the material in the *Exercises* to the Manresa period when Ignatius was himself developing religiously as well as advising others. Ignatius no doubt drew upon literary sources. He was probably familiar with, and may have borrowed his title from, the *Ejercitatorio de la vida espiritual,* written in 1500 by Garcia de Cisneros, first abbot of the Benedictine monastery at Montserrat and nephew of the famous Cardinal Ximenes. It seems likely also that Ignatius borrowed from Thomas à Kempis' *The Imitation of Christ.* The discourse on the Two Standards, moreover, is found in part in a sermon of St. Bernard. "But these are only single stones. The building, taken as a whole, is a compact and uniform work of art constructed on new and original lines."[11] The manual received the approval of Pope Paul III in 1548. Not only are the *Exercises* still used by the Jesuit Order for novitiates and for special retreats, but they have provided the basis of all modern systems of religious devotion.[12]

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT (1545–1563). The Council of Trent is a landmark in the history of the Church. It was at Trent that the Church reaffirmed its basic doctrines despite the Protestant challenge and launched the Counter-Reformation that would win back much of Europe to the papacy. And yet the fact of the matter is that many religious and political pressures combined to delay the calling of the council and even when it had been assembled, these same pressures managed to draw out and delay the successive meetings.

The fifteenth-century popes had not wanted a council to be held to draw up needed reforms, because of the widespread support enjoyed by the conciliar movements, with its theory of the superiority of councils over popes. When Luther in 1518 had called for a council meeting to hear his case, for example, he had banked on the council's support

[11] Pastor, *op. cit.,* p. 16.

[12] See Douglas V. Steere, *On Beginning from Within* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1943), p. 63.

against the pope. The emperor, Charles V, had his own reasons for wanting to call a council. No doubt he sincerely believed in the need for papal reform, but much more urgent to him was the need to reconcile Protestants with Catholics in his divided realm, and to present a united front against the Turks, who were pressing upon the eastern boundaries of the empire. But the initiative in finally calling a council meeting was taken by the Italian reform party. Pope Paul III himself had shown interest in calling such a council meeting since his accession to papal office in 1534, but it was not until 1545 that the first session of the Council of Trent was actually opened.

The meetings of the Council of Trent extended over a period of eighteen years, held not continuously but at intervals. The first ten sessions ran from 1545 to 1547, during the reign of Pope Paul III; there were six sessions (1551–1552) under Julius II; and nine under Pius IV (1562–1563). The two interruptions were the result of a struggle over the place of meeting and the fear of plague in Trent (1547–1551) and the lack of interest of Paul IV (1555–1559), who had little confidence in political negotiations and devoted himself to rigorous reform of abuses, using the Inquisition as his instrument. Less than two hundred attended the first group of meetings, a smaller number the second, but a larger gathering the third and final group of sessions. It was not until the second period of meetings (1551–1552), and then only on an informal basis, that Protestant views were presented.

The Council of Trent did not restore unity to Western Christendom. Indeed, the door to reconciliation with the Protestants was closed. Why then is the Council of Trent considered a landmark in the history of the Church? It is because it gave clear formulation to basic Catholic articles of faith and forcefully stated them in such a way as to show the error of "innovators." For example, the Protestant claim that sole religious authority is to be found in the Scriptures was denied. Rather, the Council declared, it is to be found both in the Scriptures and in the unwritten Tradition, that is, what-

ever has "been handed down by the Church over and above the Holy Scriptures."[13] A second council decree made it clear that the interpretation of the Bible is not to be left to private judgment. It declared that "to decide the true meaning and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures is the business" of the Church.

The doctrine of justification was another important article defined by the Council. The discussion here was lengthy, lasting seven months, with forty-four preparatory meetings of theologians and sixty-one meetings of bishops, in addition to the public sessions. The difficulty was that the thought of the Church had not been clarified on this subject. In the end a decree was promulgated running to nine pages in the Latin text to which was appended a list of thirty-three canons or statements in which the positions of the Reformers were stated and condemned. Justification is by grace and faith, but not by faith alone, "since faith without works is dead. Faith working by love in a constant state of grace through the following of the commandments of God and the Church results in a continual advance from virtue to virtue."[14]

The seven medieval sacraments were upheld: baptism, confirmation, the Eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and holy matrimony. No clear-cut decision was reached at the Council of Trent concerning the primacy of the pope, a matter which had to wait until 1870, although the Roman Church was described as "the mother and mistress of all the churches," and enough other indications of the importance of the papacy were given to combat Protestant views.[15] Transubstantiation was reaffirmed. Other doctrinal matters were discussed, particularly as they had been called in question by Protestant teaching. But it is well to remember that "it was no part of the council's design to restate the whole belief of the Church, nor even to restate its whole belief on the doctrines controverted. All it proposed

[13] Pastor, *op. cit.*, pp. 368–69.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 345.
[15] *Ibid.*, XV, 370–371.

to do was to make clear what the Catholic doctrine was on those particular points."[16]

Drastic moral and administrative reforms were demanded by the Council of Trent. Reform was to begin with the bishops, who were instructed to remain in residence and who were not to have more than one bishopric "since he must be considered exceedingly fortunate who succeeds in ruling one church well, fruitfully and with due interest in the salvation of the souls committed to him."[17] The system of benefices was strictly regulated to prevent abuses. The bishop was given great freedom in the exercise of his authority, but much was required of him, in preaching, which was described as his chief duty, in visitation, in regulation of the clergy, in care of the poor, and in the countless other duties of office. It was the particular duty of the bishop to raise up a worthy clergy, well-trained, dedicated, and setting a worthy example to their charges.[18] Parish priests were required to preach every Sunday and religious holiday and to give special care to the instruction of children.

The establishment of a seminary in every diocese was an important reform.

> More than anything else [it] has made all the difference between the health of the Church in the last four centuries and its chronic state in the Middle Ages—the law of Trent that in every diocese there must be founded a college where aspirants to the priesthood will be taught and also trained.[19]

In order to implement the recommendations of the Council of Trent, Pope Pius IV confirmed all the decrees by a papal bull of January 26, 1563. A Congregation of the Council was established, chosen from the College of Cardinals, and it set up in rapid succession an index of books forbidden to be read (1564), a catechism for the instruction of parish priests (1566), a revised breviary (1568), and a revised missal (1570).

[16] Hughes, *op. cit.*, pp. 266–67.

[17] H. J. Schroeder (ed.), *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1941), pp. 55–56.

[18] See Appendix B for example of admonishment of bishops.

[19] Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

Not all of the decrees of the Council of Trent could be carried out at once or in all places; nevertheless, the decisive importance of Trent deserves full recognition.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

The Rule of the Society of Jesus (in part)[20]

[Ignatius Loyola, with six friends, actually organized the Society of Jesus in 1534, but it was not until 1540 that Pope Paul III approved the Rule.]

He who desires to fight for God under the banner of the cross in our society—which we wish to distinguish by the name of Jesus—and to serve God alone and the Roman pontiff, his vicar on earth, after a solemn vow of perpetual chastity, shall set this thought before his mind, that he is a part of a society founded for the especial purpose of providing for the advancement of souls in Christian life and doctrine and for the propagation of the faith through public preaching and the ministry of the word of God, spiritual exercises and deeds of charity, and in particular through the training of the young and ignorant in Christianity and through the spiritual consolation of the faithful of Christ in hearing confessions; and he shall take care to keep first God and next the purpose of this organization always before his eyes. . . .

All the members shall realize, and shall recall daily, as long as they live, that this society as a whole and in every part is fighting for God under faithful obedience to one most holy lord, the pope, and to the other Roman pontiffs who succeed him. And although we are taught in the gospel and through the orthodox faith to recognize and steadfastly profess that all the faithful of Christ are subject to the Roman pontiff as their head and as the vicar of Jesus Christ, yet we have adjudged that, for the special promotion of greater humility in our society and the perfect mortification of every individual and the sacrifice of our own wills, we should each be bound by a peculiar vow, in addition to the general obligation, that whatever the present Roman pontiff, or any future one, may from time to time decree re-

[20] J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1906), II, 162–164.

garding the welfare of souls and the propagation of the faith, we are pledged to obey without evasion or excuse, instantly, so far as in us lies, whether he send us to the Turks or any other infidels, even those who inhabit the regions men call the Indies; whether to heretics or schismatics, or, on the other hand, to certain of the faithful.

Wherefore those who come to us shall reflect long and deeply, before they take this burden upon their shoulders, as to whether they have among their goods enough spiritual treasure to enable them, according to the Lord's precept, to carry out their enterprise—that is, whether the Holy Spirit who impels them promises them so much grace that they may hope to support the weight of this profession with his aid; then, after they have, under God's inspiration, been enrolled in this army of Jesus Christ, day and night must they have their loins girded and themselves in readiness for the payment of their mighty obligation. Nor shall there be amongst us any ambition or rivalry whatsoever for missions and provinces. . . . Subordinates shall, indeed, both for the sake of the wide activities of the order and also for the assiduous practice, never sufficiently to be commended, of humility, be bound always to obey the commander in every matter pertaining to the organization of the society, and shall recognize Christ as present in him, and shall do him reverence as far as is seemly. . . .

Whereas, moreover, we have found that the happier, purer, and more edifying life is that removed as far as possible from all contagion of avarice and modeled as nearly as may be upon evangelical poverty, and whereas we know that our Lord Jesus Christ will furnish the necessities of food and clothing to his servants who seek only the kingdom of God, therefore each and every member shall vow perpetual poverty, declaring that neither individually, nor even in common for the support or use of the society, will he acquire any civil right over any permanent property, rents, or incomes whatever, but that he will be content with the use only of such articles as shall be given him to meet his necessities. They may, however, maintain in universities a college or colleges with means or possessions to be applied to the needs and exigencies of the students; all control or supervision of any sort over the said colleges and students being vested in the commander and the society. . . .

The foregoing is what, by the permission of our said Lord Paul and of the apostolic see, we have been allowed to set forth as a general ideal for our profession. We have taken this step at this time in order that by this brief document we might inform the persons who are inquiring now about our way of life, and also posterity—if, by God's will, there shall be those to follow us in the path upon which (attended though it be by many grave difficulties) we have entered. We have further judged it expedient to prescribe that no one shall be received into this society until he has proved himself wise

in Christ as well as in doctrine, and exalted in the purity of the Christian life, then at length he shall be admitted into the army of Jesus Christ. May he deign to prosper our feeble undertaking to the glory of God the Father, to whom alone be ever praise and honor throughout the ages. Amen.

Appendix B

An Example of Moral and Administrative Reforms Demanded by Council of Trent[21]

It is to be desired that those who undertake the office of bishop should understand what their portion is, and comprehend that they are called, not to their own convenience, not to riches or luxury, but to labors and cares, for the glory of God. For it is not to be doubted that the rest of the faithful also will be more easily excited to religion and innocence if they shall see those who are set over them not fixing their thoughts on the things of this world, but on the salvation of souls and on their heavenly country. Wherefore this holy Council, being minded that these things are of the greatest importance towards restoring ecclesiastical discipline, admonishes all bishops that, often meditating thereon, they show themselves conformable to their office by their actual deeds and the actions of their lives; which is a kind of perpetual sermon; but, above all, that they so order their whole conversation that others may thence be able to derive examples of frugality, modesty, continency, and of that holy humility which so much commends us to God.

Wherefore, after the example of our fathers in the Council of Carthage, this Council not only orders that bishops be content with modest furniture, and a frugal table and diet, but that they also give heed that in the rest of their manner of living, and in their whole house, there be nothing seen which is alien to this holy institution, and which does not manifest simplicity, zeal toward God, and a contempt of vanities.

It strictly forbids them, moreover, to strive to enrich their own kindred or domestics out of the revenues of the Church; seeing that even the canons of the apostles forbid them to give to their kindred the property of the Church, which belongs to God; but if their kindred be poor, let them distribute to them thereof as poor, but not misapply or waste the Church's goods for their sakes: yea, this holy Council, with the utmost earnestness, admonishes them completely to lay aside all this human and carnal affection towards brothers, nephews, and kindred, which is the seed plot of many evils in the

[21] Robinson, *Readings in European History,* II, 160–161.

Church. And what has been said of bishops, the same is to be observed by all who hold ecclesiastical benefices, whether secular or regular, each according to the nature of his rank. . . .

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. How does Cardinal Ximenes exemplify the characteristics of the Spanish reform?
2. What was the goal of the Oratory of Divine Love as an early expression of the reforming spirit in Italy? How did members implement this aim?
3. What new ideas were incorporated in the theory and practice of the Theatine Order?
4. Illustrate the influence of medieval mysticism and chivalry upon Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus.
5. What was the aim of the seven original members of the Society of Jesus? How was this purpose later defined?
6. In what sense do the *Constitutions* portray the Society of Jesus as a military company? (See text and Appendix A.)
7. Discuss the origin and use by Ignatius of the *Spiritual Exercises.*
8. Why was the Council of Trent important?
9. What were some doctrinal decisions made at the meetings of this council?
10. What special requirements were made of bishops as the starting point of moral and administrative reform? (See Appendix B as well as text.)

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Chapter 22

THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY REFORMATION IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, THE NETHERLANDS, AND SCOTLAND

HENRY VIII AND RELIGIOUS NATIONALISM. The Reformation in England passed through two phases, spaced a century apart. The first was primarily national in character, essentially a declaration of religious independence from Rome. The second phase, in the seventeenth century, was concerned with the demand for social and constitutional reform raised by dissenting groups in England. In this chapter we shall deal only with the sixteenth-century phase of the English Reformation.

In 1534 Henry VIII had himself proclaimed head of the Church of England and thus became master of both church and state. This led to the separation of the English national church from Rome. It is a striking fact that the English break with Rome resulted not from the efforts of a great religious reformer as elsewhere, but was the work of a Tudor king during whose reign (1509–1547) and the reigns of his children (Edward VI, 1547–1553; Mary, 1553–1558; and Elizabeth, 1558–1603) the religious problem in England was settled on the basis of Protestant principles in a form which has survived to the present day.

The Act of Supremacy (1534), in which the break with Rome was made official, reads: "The king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia . . ."[1] While the matrimonial problem of Henry VIII has been given much prominence, it should be recognized that the basic cause of

[1] See Appendix A for wording of Supremacy Act.

the revolt from Rome was political, the extension of already well-established English nationalism into the religious sphere. The refusal of Pope Clement VII to annul the marriage of Henry VIII to Catherine of Aragon was merely the occasion of the break. However, Henry's desire for an annulment was based upon more than a personal whim: he needed a male heir. As Bainton puts it, "the problem of Henry VIII was not passion, but succession."[2] Still, the result was an almost unique institution, a national church with the king as head.

Henry VIII's boldness could not have succeeded, had not conditions in England encouraged at least tacit support from a large part of the population. Various factors contributed to such a response. Many Englishmen resented the large sums of English money going to Rome, just as did many Germans in the period before and during Luther's leadership of the Reformation in Germany. As early as 1423, the king's Privy Council had put into writing a "remonstrance" against excessive claims to power and privilege by a papal legate, one Cardinal Beaufort,[3] thus revealing a religious nationalism which was to increase rather than diminish. There was general criticism of the clergy, particularly of the monks, who were said to have departed widely from their rule, and of regular priests who were described as neglectful of their religious duties, uneducated, and in many cases, immoral.[4] In England, as elsewhere, there was bitter opposition, also, to the abuses of the benefice system: absenteeism, pluralism, and expectations.

This is not to say that the people of England were lacking in religious interest, but rather that the very real piety of the people was strongly tinged by anticlericalism. Some surviving pockets of Lollardism may have contributed to this climate of opinion. Vernacular translations of the Bible were known in England and became more numerous with the invention of printing. Humanist influences were present in the England of Henry VIII in the persons of such men as John

[2] R. H. Bainton, *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1952), p. 186.

[3] Henry Gee and William John Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1896), pp. 139 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 141 ff.

Colet, dean of St. Paul's, Sir Thomas More, author of the famous *Utopia,* and Erasmus, who not only had a large circle of friends in England but had come to Cambridge to work on his edition of the Greek New Testament and his Latin translation of it. Lutheran influences early reached both Oxford and Cambridge. A combination of these factors may be seen in the life and work of William Tyndale (1494–1536), who studied at both Oxford and Cambridge, and soon after leaving the latter institution, conceived the idea of translating the New Testament into English, not from the Wyclif version but from the Greek text and Latin version of Erasmus, the Vulgate, and Luther's German translation. Tyndale later translated much of the Old Testament as well, and his labors to a considerable extent paved the way for the King James Version of the Bible.

Conditions outside of England also favored Henry's defiance of the papacy. The pope might excommunicate Henry, as he eventually did, but there were no means of enforcing the decree because of national rivalries on the Continent, particularly between the France of Francis I and the Spain of Charles V, and the subjection of the papal state itself to Spain after the sacking of Rome in 1527 by troops of Charles V.

An important factor in Henry VIII's success was his skillful use of piecemeal conquest. In 1530 he dismissed Wolsey, who had been at one and the same time archbishop of York, cardinal and papal legate, and chancellor of the kingdom, because he had not succeeded in gaining the desired marriage annulment. In 1531 he indicted the clergy of all England for violating the 1353 law of *Praemunire* (appealing to an outside authority, such as papal rule, and thus questioning the supremacy of the Crown), because they had recognized the authority of Wolsey as papal legate. In 1532 Parliament, at royal instigation, abolished the payment of annates to Rome. Finally, in May of the same year, the king received the "Submission of the Clergy,"[5] accompanied by a large payment of money.

The English Reformation is usually dated from this "Submission," in which the clergy in convocation agreed hence-

[5] See Appendix B.

forth not to make any new ecclesiastical laws and to submit all existing statutes to a commission to be appointed by the king. In January, 1533, Henry secretly married Anne Boleyn, and in February Parliament voted a statute forbidding appeals to Rome.[6] Thus, step by step, Henry had his way until, with the passage of the Supremacy Act, he was invested with supreme authority over both church and state.

Henry VIII was no Protestant. He was indeed an orthodox Catholic in doctrine and had been designated "Defender of the Faith" by Leo X for his *Assertion of the Seven Sacraments,* directed against Luther in 1521. Henry made only two basic changes in religious life, neither of which involved religious doctrine.[7] First, he did away with all the monasteries, great and small, and expropriated their lands, totalling, it is said, one-third of all the lands in England.[8] Thus, in spite of Henry's Catholic outlook, he did indirectly strengthen Protestant influence in England. In the second place he advocated the open Bible and thus indirectly gave support to the Protestant emphasis on the sole authority of the Scriptures. Furthermore, Henry's subjection of the clergy, and hence the lessening of their authority, combined with the general religious disturbance of the times to make the way easier for the movement of reform.

England under Henry VIII was neither Catholic nor Protestant, a condition which could not be expected to last. During Edward's brief reign (1547–1553), a strong Protestant trend developed in the English church. A number of acts of Parliament moving in this direction included approval of the giving of wine as well as bread to the laity in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; an act dissolving chantries, or chapels endowed for the singing or saying of masses for the souls of founders or other designated persons; the removal of images from churches; and the legalizing of the marriage of priests.

The most enduring religious achievement of the reign of Edward VI was the publication in 1549 of the first Book of

[6] Gee and Hardy, *op. cit.,* pp. 187–195.
[7] Bainton, *op. cit.,* p. 192.
[8] See Appendix C.

Common Prayer, revised in 1552, set aside temporarily by Mary, but restored by Elizabeth in 1559 with slight alterations. Both the 1549 and the 1552 editions were prepared by Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and his advisers, and give evidence of Protestant influence. In the 1549 version, Cranmer, although himself sympathetic to Lutheran views, used language which could even have satisfied Catholics, as for example in the passage dealing with the Lord's Supper:

> The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for us, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

The wording of this passage was intended to suggest the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, which remains the key to the Anglican understanding of the Communion meal. However, the 1549 edition of the Book of Common Prayer failed to satisfy the radical Protestants, and in the 1552 version Cranmer altered the wording as follows:

> Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving. Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.

"Remembrance" has Zwinglian connotations and "feeding in the heart" was what Calvin taught. Other features of the service which suggested Catholic practice were removed, such as the singing of the *Agnus Dei,* references to purgatory, and prayers for the dead. By act of Parliament the use of the Book of Common Prayer was made compulsory throughout the land. This book, put into English of great dignity and beauty by Cranmer, has proved to be the strongest bond of unity within the Church of England. The bond is one of a common worship, however, rather than a common belief.

The Protestant direction of English religious life during the brief reign of Edward VI was speedily reversed in the still briefer rule of Mary (1553–1558). Half-Spanish and wholly Catholic, Mary succeeded to the throne, July 6,

1553, and was crowned, October 1.[9] Parliament met four days later and repealed nine acts of Edward VI relating to the Church, thus restoring the *status quo* of 1547, the time of Henry VIII's death. In the succeeding year, Parliament revived the heresy laws and approved Mary's Second Act of Repeal, setting aside eight acts of Henry VIII and one of Edward VI relating to the Church and restoring the *status quo* of 1529, except that confiscated properties were not returned to their original owners. In 1554 Mary also entered into her unpopular marriage with Philip, soon (in January, 1556) to become King of Spain as Philip II. The papal legate, Reginald Pole, now absolved the nation from heresy and restored it to communion with Rome. Pole himself became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1556, using that office with the approval of Mary as a base for the restoration of Roman Catholicism in England. Under the laws of heresy, about three hundred Englishmen went to the stake and the Queen became known as "Bloody Mary."[10] To be sure, religious persecution under Mary was no more severe than during previous regimes or in other countries, like the Netherlands. But it was being applied on the basis of dissent from Roman Catholicism, rather than on the legal basis used by Henry VIII. Furthermore, it was applied to common people as well as leaders, and a third of those who were burned as heretics were women. The most famous of those who died at the stake were the Edwardian bishops Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer, all put to death at Oxford.

The religious question in England was finally resolved under Queen Elizabeth (1558–1603). What took place was basically a return to conditions under Edward VI, but Elizabeth's policy was marked by a tolerance and moderation which aided its acceptance and augured well for its continuation. Thus, in the new Supremacy Act of 1559, Elizabeth became "Supreme Governor" rather than "Head" of the Church of England, as Henry VIII had styled himself.[11] All

[9] See Appendix D for pen portrait of Queen Mary.
[10] See Appendix E for execution of Bishop John Hooper.
[11] Gee and Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 442–458.

foreign influences were sharply rejected. Under Elizabeth the requirement of uniformity applied to worship only. However, since some statement about doctrine seemed to be needed, the Thirty-nine Articles (1571), a revision of the Forty-two Articles of Edward VI, became the Creed of England. A new edition of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI was brought out which was less radically Protestant. Here again the deliberate purpose of Elizabeth seems to have been to follow a middle path, one marked by an inclusive breadth even though it might at the same time be charged with ambiguity.

THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE. Protestantism first appeared in France within Humanist circles. One of the Humanists, Jacques LeFevre, a priest interested in classical studies and an advocate of Catholic reform from within, became tutor to the children of Francis I. LeFevre later received the protection of both the king and the king's sister, Margaret, when one of his writings was declared heretical by the Sorbonne. Another Humanist and Catholic reformer was Guillaume Briconnet, Bishop of Meaux, Margaret's spiritual adviser. Margaret herself was much interested in humanist studies and in Lutheran and Calvinist views, although she remained Catholic. Francis I was concerned far more with political realities than doctrinal disputes, however. His main interest was to oppose Charles V and his policies. Thus when he needed the support of Lutheran princes, Francis I was capable of relaxing his repression of Protestant influence.

After Francis' death, Lutheranism gave way to Calvinism as the channel of expression for Protestant views. Francis I was succeeded by his "dissolute yet orthodox" son, Henry II (1547–59), who greatly intensified the persecution of Protestants. Cruelty, however, served merely to increase resistance and to multiply the ranks of the Calvinists. Calvin, admired in France partly because he was himself a Frenchman, intervened to halt the persecution of Protestants by writing a letter of encouragement to five scholars who were, in spite of this intervention, put to death in Lyons in May,

1553.[12] The first Reformed congregation was established in Paris in September, 1555, and by 1559 there were seventy-two such churches. Geneva served as a willing source of supply of ministers for these French Protestant churches. The first meeting of a national synod was held in Paris in May, 1559, and it adopted a statement of faith drawn up by a pupil of Calvin and a constitution based upon Calvinistic principles. The French Calvinists became known as Huguenots (some say from the German *Eidgenoss*, "confederate"). Huguenots increased rapidly in numbers in the period following the death of Henry II and it is estimated that in 1662 they numbered one million out of a total French population of twelve million. They were found throughout the country, but were most numerous in the southwest, where the Bourbons had their possessions, including the tiny kingdom of Navarre, bordering on the Pyrenees.

The Venetian ambassador to France writing to his prince in 1561 described the spread of Calvinism and predicted that either Calvinists would have to be given the right to worship according to their convictions or else there would be a civil war.[13] Both parts of his "either-or" prophecy were fulfilled. In January, 1562, Catherine de' Medici, regent for her young son, Charles IX (1560–1574), attempted a reconciliation of the rival princely families, the Guises (who espoused the Catholic cause) and the Bourbons (some of whom were Protestants) by issuing an edict of toleration. Condé, the Bourbon head of the Protestant party, was released from jail and a public discussion was held between Catholic and Protestant theologians, in which Beza, friend and successor of Calvin at Geneva, took part. Shortly after, Catherine ruled that Huguenots should be allowed the right of public worship except in cities and walled towns. This display of favor toward the Huguenots infuriated the Guises and Catholic sympathizers, precipitating the Wars of Religion (1562–1598), until in 1598 the Edict of Nantes defined the rights of

[12] B. J. Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), p. 663.

[13] Kidd, *op. cit.*, pp. 679–680.

Protestants. Under this edict Catholicism retained its supremacy as the religion of the majority, but the freedom of conscience of the Huguenots throughout France was respected and the right of public worship recognized wherever it had been previously granted as well as in numerous other specified localities. Huguenots were even given control of two hundred cities held by them, including La Rochelle, thus creating a state within the state. Here then was a new principle for a solution of the Catholic-Protestant problem, not that each sovereign should determine the religion of his subjects, but that the right of religions to exist side by side be recognized. The Edict of Nantes was later revoked by Louis XIV in 1685 and many Huguenots were then forced to flee abroad to escape persecution. Religious toleration was not finally achieved in France until the time of Napoleon.

THE REFORMATION IN THE NETHERLANDS. The early history of Protestantism in the Low Countries is closely identified with the struggle for independence from Spain. The trouble began when Charles V abdicated in 1555, dividing the empire between his brother Ferdinand and his son Philip. Philip II, the new ruler of Spain and the Netherlands, quickly dissipated the good will which had been built up by Charles V. Charles V had been reared in the Low Countries, spoke Flemish, and was popular with the Catholic majority. He had even been known on occasion to advance the interests of Netherlanders against those of other parts of the empire. Charles' abdication at Brussels was thus regretted by many Netherlanders, among them William of Orange, who had been his favorite.

Philip II (1556–98), on the other hand, spoke only Spanish, was regarded as a foreigner by the Netherlanders and, in fact, felt like one, as evidenced by the fact that he departed for Spain at the earliest possible moment and turned over the rule of the Low Countries to his half-sister, Margaret of Parma, and her advisers. Philip now proceeded to act the despot and to treat the Netherlands like a Spanish province. A fanatical Catholic, and either ignorant of or indifferent to long existing religious diversity in these lands, he proceeded

to demand strict religious uniformity. Uniformity, religious or political, the Netherlanders could hardly be expected to accept. Politically, these scattered provinces had never known highly centralized authority until the coming of the Hapsburgs. Religiously, there was great variety of background and divergence of doctrine. The Brethren of the Common Life, interested in Humanist studies, had flourished here. Erasmus (1469?–1536), the Dutch Humanist, educated in schools conducted by the Brethren, was their most famous citizen. Lutheranism had early found its way into these countries and the first Lutheran martyrs had died here. In the first quarter of the sixteenth century the largest concentration of Anabaptists in all Europe had gathered here because of the traditional religious toleration.

In the 1560's the three leading religious groups were Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, with enough Anabaptists to create a fourth, minority party. These various religious groups were not prone to work together in harmony and could only be united even temporarily by great provocation. This provocation Philip of Spain promptly gave by his attempt to enforce the Inquisition by Spanish arms, first through Granvelle, Margaret of Parma's chief adviser, and later through the Duke of Alva, who used the most brutal and terroristic methods.

In April, 1566, a group of young nobles—among their leaders a Lutheran, a Roman Catholic, and a Calvinist—presented a petition to Margaret of Parma, asking for a change of policy and the end of the Spanish Inquisition. The epithet "Beggars," applied to those signing the petition, and the Beggar's Sack thrown over the shoulder, soon became the symbols of the movement for the freedom of the Netherlands. In August, 1566, popular unrest exploded into riots in which images, altars, and churches were desecrated. Philip II responded by sending the Duke of Alva—who now replaced Margaret as governor—and an army. This led to armed resistance under the leadership of William of Orange, born a Lutheran but at this time a Catholic, who was to become the great champion of Dutch independence. Nobles, mer-

chants, artisans, Catholics and Protestants, all stood together in resistance, but were defeated by Alva, who executed hundreds, including the two Catholic Counts of Egmont and Horn, who had shared leadership with William of Orange. William escaped to Germany, tried unsuccessfully to organize military opposition, and eventually established sea raiders, using English ports, to disrupt Spanish commerce. In 1572 "Sea Beggars" raided and captured Brill on the middle coast and William of Orange led an uprising in the northern provinces, resulting first in the Union of Utrecht (1579), a declaration of independence in 1581, and eventually (1609) in the establishment of the United Provinces, as the independent Netherlands came to be called. William of Orange, a price set on his head by Philip, was assassinated in 1584, but his son, Maurice, succeeded him and proved to be an equally vigorous leader. The northern provinces had by 1609 become strongly Calvinist. The Duke of Parma, now leading the Spanish forces, was able to maintain control only of the ten southern provinces which constitute Belgium today.

Calvinism remained dominant in the northern provinces and in the guise of the Dutch Reformed Church remains to this day the established church of Holland. William of Orange himself in his later years was a Calvinist. This religious development proceeded side by side with the struggle for independence. The *Belgian Confession,* embodying Calvinist principles, was adopted in a synod meeting held in 1566 at Antwerp. This was supplemented at the Synod of Emden in 1571 by a Genevan-type constitution and by the adoption of the Heidelberg Catechism in 1574. In spite of the adoption of a Presbyterian system of church government, calling for at least some degree of self-government, the Dutch Reformed Church came to no clear statement of the relation of church and state. The degree of state control of the church varied from province to province.

The Dutch Reformed Church, in its role as the religious establishment of Holland, displayed no love for other religious groups. The Belgian Confession plainly stated its detestation of the "Anabaptist error."[14] Nevertheless, toleration gradu-

[14] Kidd, *op. cit.*, p. 686.

ally came to Holland. For whatever reasons—the necessity of working together in the struggle for independence, the exigencies of trade, and, no doubt, other factors—the Dutch came to display greater religious toleration in succeeding decades than found anywhere else in the Christian world. William of Orange in 1577 had granted Anabaptists their first guarantee of freedom of worship. Seventeenth-century Holland opened its doors to religious refugees, including Spanish and Portuguese Jews who were to make a significant contribution to the material prosperity of the land. Culturally, the seventeenth century became the Golden Age of Holland's history, featured by Dutch art reaching its height with Rembrandt, the University of Leiden achieving world fame with its pre-eminence in theology and the sciences, and its great philosophers, Descartes and Spinoza.

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND. Although John Knox was to become the hero of the Scottish Reformation, he did not appear in the first phase of the reform movement. The Reformation began as a protest against the corruption of the Catholic Church of Scotland, a corruption recognized and decried by even the best friends of the Church. A Scotsman by the name of Ninian Winzet in 1562 lamented the "great destruction of true religion" in his day, characterized by the "pride and avarice" of the hierarchy, the "election of unqualified bishops and other pastors in Scotland," the "distribution of benefices to babies," "exalting ceremonies only, without any sermon, and keeping in silence the true Word of God necessary to man's salvation."[15] Economic factors also made the Church an attractive target, for the Catholic Church in poverty-ridden Scotland was a wealthy, privileged body, owning about one-half of the land of the entire country.

The first challenge to the Church in Scotland came in the form of Lutheran teachings; it was to meet this threat that an act of Parliament in July, 1525, prohibited Lutheran books. Lutheran influence is clearly visible in the case of the first Scottish martyr of the Reformation, a young layman, Patrick Hamilton (1504–28). A student at St. Andrews, his Lutheran

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 689 (language modernized).

sympathies forced him to flee to Germany in 1527 where he became acquainted with Tyndale, the English translator of the New Testament, and probably also with Luther and Melanchthon. Hamilton composed a book, *Loci Communes,* popularly called "Patrick's Places," expounding Protestant principles and reminiscent of Melanchthon's book of the same title. When he returned to Scotland later the same year and began to expound his views, he was pronounced a heretic even "with the power of the Hamiltons at his back,"[16] and was burned at the stake in February, 1528, by order of James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews (1522–1539).

More important to the Scottish Reformation was George Wishart (1513–1546), a teacher become preacher who converted John Knox, among others, to Protestant views. Compelled to leave Scotland in 1538 because of suspicions of his orthodoxy, Wishart first visited England, and then associated with Reformed groups in Zurich, Basel, and Strassburg. Returning to Scotland in 1543, he brought with him the First Helvetic Confession, semi-Zwinglian in character, which he translated and used as a confession of faith as he traveled about Scotland preaching Christianity as he understood it. He also composed an order of service for the Lord's Supper which John Knox used at Berwick in 1550. "Wishart may thus be considered the first to have planted on Scottish soil the Continental Reformation in its Zwinglian form."[17] Accused of heresy, he was burned at the stake at St. Andrews, March 1, 1546, by order of Cardinal David Beaton, nephew of and successor to Archbishop James Beaton, who had ordered the execution of Patrick Hamilton in 1528. Within three months after the death of Wishart, Cardinal Beaton was assassinated (May 29, 1546) as an act of revenge for the death of Wishart.

JOHN KNOX. It was at this point that John Knox (1505?–1572) first appeared on the scene of the Scottish Reformation. We know little about his life before 1545, except that he served as an ecclesiastical notary and as a private tutor from 1540–43. Then, shortly after the murder of Cardinal Beaton,

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 686.
[17] *Ibid.,* p. 687.

Knox became identified as a Protestant sympathizer by serving as chaplain to Cardinal Beaton's assassins, who had seized St. Andrew's Castle and were using it as a place of refuge. On April 10, 1547, Knox joined the assassins in the castle and remained with them until July 31, when the French reinforcements called in by Mary of Guise (then regent for Scotland) compelled their surrender. Knox was sent away to serve as a galley slave in the French navy.

What might now have happened had the Catholic Mary Tudor been on the English throne presents an intriguing question. This was, however, the beginning of the nominal reign of Edward VI, whose Protestant advisers saw no reason to support a Catholic ruler on the throne of Scotland or to encourage England to rely upon the French. To the contrary, they saw every reason for giving aid and comfort to the religious and political opposition of the Scottish throne and, accordingly, arranged through diplomatic channels for the release of Knox, which became effective in February, 1549, after eighteen months of the most gruelling kind of servitude. Knox remained for several years in England as a licensed minister, even serving for a brief time as royal chaplain, but refused the bishopric of Rochester when it was offered to him. Then Mary Tudor ascended the throne and Knox sought refuge on the Continent, residing mainly at Geneva during the years 1554–58, the time when Calvin was at the height of his powers. Knox made a brief visit to Scotland for the months of September, 1555, to July, 1556, preaching in private the cause of reform, but then returned to Geneva where he became minister of English refugees in that city.

Meanwhile, events were preparing the way for his final return to Scotland and his triumph there. By this time sentiment had turned against ecclesiastical authority, as demonstrated in a popular ballad of the day which began:

> The Paip, that Pagane full of pryde
> He hes us blindit lang,
> For quhair the blind the blind dois gyde,
> Na wounder baith ga wrang.[18]

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 695.

A Catholic reform was attempted, but it was too late. In the meantime, a group of Protestant and anti-French nobles started a reform of their own, covenanting on December 3, 1557, "to establish the most blessed word of God and his Congregatioun," and sending word for Knox to return.[19]

Knox arrived in Edinburgh May 2, 1559 and nine days later at Perth preached with such power that a mob, "the raschall multitude," as Knox called them, got out of hand and sacked the monasteries of the town. Acts of violence now occurred in many parts of Scotland, resulting in the wrecking of churches and the destruction of monasteries, much against the wishes of Knox. Mary of Guise, the regent, and her court naturally attempted to repress the rebellion, and civil war broke out. At this point the rebel cause did not seem a promising one.

Events now depended on Elizabeth I, for whatever action England took would determine the outcome. Elizabeth's decision was a difficult one. Should she support rebels against their lawful king? Or should she stand idly by while Mary of Guise, the French regent of Scotland, with the aid of imported French troops crushed the Protestant uprising? The English queen had to decide, further, whether or not she should throw her support to Mary Stuart, who was not only heir to the throne of Scotland but also next, after Elizabeth, in line of inheritance to the English throne. Elizabeth's decision was to despatch both an army and a navy to Scotland, and these, with the troops of the Protestant nobles of Scotland, were able to force the French to agree to the Treaty of Edinburgh in July, 1560. By the terms of this treaty both the English and the French were required to move their forces out of Scotland, in effect, a striking victory for the Protestant nobles. The act of Elizabeth in intervening on the side of the Protestant party in Scotland was an important one, because it not only prepared the way for the eventual union of England and Scotland, but also determined the Protestant affiliation of both countries.

One might have expected that the act of Parliament of August, 1560, adopting a Calvinistic Confession of Faith,

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 696.

rejecting papal authority and ending the Mass, would settle the religious issue. But this was not the case. The gains of the Protestant party had to be consolidated. This was not accomplished until Knox had engaged Mary Stuart in a personal and party struggle for power which lasted nearly eight years.

JOHN KNOX AND MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS. The contest began with the return of Mary Stuart in August, 1561, following the death of her young husband, Francis II of France, to assume her inheritance as Queen of Scotland. Young, beautiful, persuasive, and Catholic by convicton, Mary established herself as Queen in Holyrood Castle, while John Knox thundered his stern denunciations from the nearby pulpit of St. Giles Cathedral. Although forced to accept the act of Parliament establishing Presbyterianism as the national faith, Mary herself insisted upon attending Mass in her own private chapel and systematically intrigued to achieve her twofold goal, first, to unify Scotland in loyalty to the Crown, and second, to strengthen her claim as next heir, after Elizabeth, to the throne of England.

Her great opponent in Scotland was, of course, John Knox, and the two of them met in a series of five dramatic interviews in which each attempted to impose his will upon the other. Knox was not willing to obey her as queen while she remained Catholic in faith. When Knox told her she could not expect obedience from her subjects until she gave her obedience to the true Church, Mary replied that the Church of Rome was the true Church and the one she would obey. Knox, convinced of the Protestant view of the Bible as the sole authority, could not understand how she could speak of conscience and disobey the plain words of the Bible. In this long drawn out duel between the young and charming queen and the grim and vehement reformer, Knox is unlikely to gain the sympathy of the present-day reader "in an age which has forgotten what it was all about."[20] Yet in the end Mary lost out in Scotland—as much by her own follies as anything else—and finally had to seek refuge in England where in 1587 she was executed because of complicity in a plot to

[20] Bainton, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

take the life of Queen Elizabeth. John Knox lived to see Presbyterianism firmly established as the national church of Scotland.

Three religious documents had an important part in establishing the new national church. The first of these was the Confession of Faith, drawn up largely by Knox himself along Calvinist lines. This remained the doctrinal standard until 1647 when it was replaced by the Westminster Confession. Next, the Book of Discipline in 1560, also based on Calvinist principles, set forth the pattern for church organization. It established authority along the lines of a representative democracy, with a minister chosen by the congregation and having complete charge of public worship. All other local authority was given to the session, which consisted of the minister and the elders, who also were elected by the congregation. The session had the power of excommunication. Above the local session was a "meeting for discussion," which later became the Presbytery, and over all, a General Assembly. The Book of Discipline put a premium upon education and upon the discipline of the community, a discipline which was to transform the Scottish people.

> In the Middle Ages they were a notoriously rough and disorderly people who preferred to raid rather than to raise cattle . . . The Reformation changed all that. The Scots were to become a different people and the alteration was effected by the new kirk armed with the Book of Discipline.[21]

The third document was the Book of Common Order, or Knox's Liturgy, containing provisions for worship which remained in force from 1564 to 1645, when it was superseded by the Westminster Directory.

After Knox died in 1572 he was succeeded as leader by Andrew Melville (1542–1622), who, building on the foundation John Knox had laid, brought Presbyterianism to its full development in Scotland. The church consolidated its position and gained the loyalty and support of nearly all Scotsmen. Thus Scotland became, as she remains today, the only

[21] Bainton, *op. cit.*, pp. 178–79.

country in the world where Presbyterianism is established by law as the national church.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

The Supremacy Act, 1534[22]

[In 1531 the English clergy had recognized Henry VIII as Supreme Head of the Church of England "as far as the Law of Christ allows." In the Supremacy Act of November 13, 1534, the qualifying clause was omitted. Henry and his successors are named "the only Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England."]

Albeit the king's majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognized by the clergy of this realm in their Convocations, yet nevertheless for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirp all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same; be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament, that the king our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called *Anglicana Ecclesia;* and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits, and commodities to the said dignity of supreme head of the same Church belonging and appertaining; and that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this realm; any usage, custom, foreign law, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

[22] Henry Gee and W. J. Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1896), pp. 243–244.

Appendix B

The Submission of the Clergy, A.D. 1532[23]

[The English Reformation is usually dated from this Act of Submission, in which the clergy agreed to make no new church laws without the king's approval and to submit existing laws to the scrutiny of a royal commission.]

We your most humble subjects, daily orators and bedesmen of your clergy of England, having our special trust and confidence in your most excellent wisdom, your princely goodness and fervent zeal to the promotion of God's honour and Christian religion, and also in your learning, far exceeding, in our judgment, the learning of all other kings and princes that we have read of, and doubting nothing but that the same shall continue and daily increase in your majesty—

First, do offer and promise, *in verbo sacerdotii,* here unto your highness, submitting ourselves most humbly to the same, that we will never from henceforth (enact), put in use, promulge, or execute, any (new canons or constitutions provincial, or any other new ordinance, provincial or synodal), in our Convocation (or synod) in time coming, which Convocation is, always has been, and must be, assembled only by your highness' commandment of writ, unless your highness by your royal assent shall license us to (assemble our Convocation, and) to make, promulge, and execute (such constitutions and ordinances as shall be made in) the same; and thereto give your royal assent and authority.

Secondly, that whereas divers (of the) constitutions, (ordinances) and canons, provincial (or synodal,) which have been hitherto enacted, be thought to be not only much prejudicial to your prerogative royal, but also overmuch onerous to your highness' subjects, (your clergy aforesaid is contented, if it may stand so with your highness' pleasure, that) it be committed to the examination and judgment (of your grace, and) of thirty-two persons, whereof sixteen to be of the upper and nether house of the temporalty, and other sixteen of the clergy, all to be chosen and appointed by your (most noble grace). So that, finally, whichsoever of the said constitutions, (ordinances, or canons, provincial or synodal), shall be thought and determined by (your grace and by) the most part of the said thirty-two persons (not to stand with God's laws and the laws of your realm, the same) to be abrogated and (taken away by your grace and the clergy; and such of them as shall be seen by your grace, and by the most part of the said thirty-two persons, to stand with God's laws and the laws of your realm, to

[23] Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History,* pp. 176–178.

stand in full strength and power, your grace's most royal assent and authority) once impetrate and fully given to the same.

Appendix C

An Eyewitness Account of the Destruction of Monasteries in England under Henry VIII[24]

[As Supreme Head of the Church of England, Henry VIII made many changes, but none of them more drastic than his suppression of all monasteries and appropriation of monastic lands, which amounted to about one-third of all the land in England.]

As soon as the visitors (i.e. the king's commissioners) were entered within the gates, they called the abbot and other officers of the house, and caused them to deliver up to them all their keys, and took an inventory of all their goods both within doors and without; for all such beasts, horses, sheep, and such cattle as were abroad in pasture or grange places, the visitors caused to be brought into their presence, and when they had done so, turned the abbot with all his convent and household forth of the doors.

Which thing was not a little grief to the convent, and all the servants of the house departing one from another, and especially such as with their conscience could not break their profession; for it would have made a heart of flint to have melted and wept to have seen the breaking up of these houses and their sorrowful departing, and the sudden spoil that fell the same day of their departure from the house. And every person had everything good cheap, except the poor monks, friars, and nuns, that had no money to bestow on anything. . . .

Such persons as afterward bought their corn and hay, or such like, found all the doors either open, the locks and shackles plucked away, or the door itself taken away, went in and took what they found—filched it away. Some took the service books that lied in the church, and laid them upon their waine coppes to piece the same. Some took windows of the hayleith and hid them in the hay; and likewise they did of many other things, for some pulled forth the iron hooks out of the walls that bought none, when the yeomen and gentlemen of the country had bought the timber of the church. For the church was the first thing that was put to the spoil; and then the abbott's lodging, dorter, and frater, with the cloister and all the buildings thereabout within the abbey walls. . . . It would have pitied any heart to see what tearing up of lead there was and plucking up of boards and throwing down of the spars; when the lead was torn off and cast down

[24] J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1906), II, 144–146.

into the church and the tombs in the church all broken (for in most abbeys were diverse noble men and women—yea, and in some abbeys, kings, whose tombs were regarded no more than the tombs of all other inferior persons; for to what end should they stand when the church over them was not spared for their cause!), and all things of Christ either spoiled, carped away, or defaced to the uttermost.

The persons that cast the lead into fodders plucked up all the seats in the choir wherein the monks sat when they said service—which were like to the seats in minsters—and burned them and melted the lead therewith all, although there was wood plenty within a flight shot of them. . . .

Appendix D

Venetian Ambassador's Account of Queen Mary (1557)[25]

[Giovanni Michele, the Venetian ambassador to England, filed a report with his government in which he described the state of affairs in England, together with an appraisal of Queen Mary and her husband, Philip II of Spain. The following is his portrait of the Catholic Queen Mary.]

Queen Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII and of his queen Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Aragon, is a princess of great worth. In her youth she was rendered unhappy by the event of her mother's divorce; by the ignominy and threats to which she was exposed after the change of religion in England, she being unwilling to unbend to the new one; and by the dangers to which she was exposed by the duke of Northumberland, and the riots among the people when she ascended the throne.

She is of short stature, well made, thin and delicate, and moderately pretty; her eyes are so lively that she inspires reverence and respect, and even fear, wherever she turns them; nevertheless she is very shortsighted. Her voice is deep, almost like that of a man. She understands five languages—English, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian, in which last, however, she does not venture to converse. She is also much skilled in ladies' work, such as producing all sorts of embroidery with the needle. She has a knowledge of music, chiefly on the lute, on which she plays exceedingly well. As to the qualities of her mind, it may be said of her that she is rash, disdainful, and parsimonious rather than liberal. She is endowed with great humility and patience, but withal high-spirited, courageous, and resolute, having during the whole course of her adversity not been guilty of the least approach to meanness of deportment; she is, moreover, devout and stanch in the defense of her religion.

[25] Robinson, *Readings in European History*, II, 149.

Appendix E

Mary's Directions for Executing a Heretical Bishop[26]

[During Mary's reign, papal authority in England was restored. Church laws passed under Edward and Henry VIII were repealed and old heresy laws were revived. Bishop John Hooper, former bishop of Rochester and Worcester, was one of those executed (1555).]

Whereas John Hooper, who of late was called bishop of Rochester and Gloucester, by due order of the laws ecclesiastic, condemned and judged for a most obstinate, false, detestable heretic, and committed to our secular power, to be burned according to the wholesome and good laws of our realm in that case provided; forasmuch as in those cities, and the diocese thereof, he has in times past preached and taught most pestilent heresies and doctrine to our subjects there, we have therefore given order that the said Hooper, who yet persisteth obstinate, and hath refused mercy when it was graciously offered, shall be put to execution in the said city of Gloucester, for the example and terror of such as he has there seduced and mistaught, and because he hath done most harm there. . . . And forasmuch also as the said Hooper is, as heretics be, a vainglorious person, and delighteth in his tongue to persuade such as he hath seduced, to persist in the miserable opinion that he hath sown among them, our pleasure is therefore, and we require you to take order, that the said Hooper be neither, at the time of his execution, nor in going to the place thereof, suffered to speak at large, but thither to be led quietly and in silence, for eschewing of further infection and such inconvenience as may otherwise ensue in this part. Wherefore fail not, as yet tender our pleasure.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Why did Henry VIII break with Rome?
2. What conditions in England made it possible for the king to succeed in this bold step?
3. By what parliamentary stages did Henry VIII lead up to the passage of the Supremacy Act? (See Appendix A for the wording of the Act of Supremacy and note the centralization of authority in Henry's hands.)

[26] Robinson, *Readings in European History*, II, 151–152.

4. What is meant by saying that under Edward VI the Anglican Church exhibited a Protestant trend?
5. What steps did Mary Tudor take to reverse the trend?
6. How and why was the religious question resolved by Queen Elizabeth?
7. What precipitated the sixteenth-century "Wars of Religion" in France?
8. Why did the Low Countries rebel against Philip II? What was the outcome of the struggle religiously?
9. How did the Reformation come to Scotland in the first place?
10. What different Reformation influences affected the course of reform in Scotland?

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Chapter 23

THE RISE OF MODERN DENOMINATIONS

ENGLAND, SEED-BED OF DEMOCRACY. The seventeenth century witnessed the second phase of the Reformation in England. This was a time of turmoil, the period of the Civil War, the Commonwealth, the Restoration, and the Glorious Revolution, during which England was shaken to her foundations and monarchy was challenged by a demand for social and constitutional reform. For a brief period England became a seed-bed of democracy, both social and religious. It was then that free, nonconformist churches arose: Congregationalist, Baptist, and Quaker. Freedom of worship was not granted, however, until the passage of the Act of Toleration in 1689, and even then it was not extended to Roman Catholics or any who rejected belief in the Trinity.

The emergence of these free churches marks a turning-point in the history of Protestantism. It may be called "the origin of 'modern' church history, in the sense that the age-old concept of religious uniformity had now to be given up."[1] The theory of one established church now gave way to denominational churches. Religious toleration now became a part of national life. Such toleration had gained recognition on the Continent in the seventeenth century as well as in England. The Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) ended in the Peace of Westphalia (1648), which acknowledged a religious stalemate. From this time on national and international politics were to be handled on a secular rather than a religious basis. This lifting of ecclesiastical controls from political affairs had its sequel in a larger degree of religious toleration, although it came more slowly in countries under the control of

[1] J. H. Nichols, *History of Christianity, 1650–1950* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1956), p. 58.

Lutheran and Roman Catholic princes and more rapidly in Holland and England.

It is an interesting fact that religious toleration appeared first in Holland and Great Britain (and the American colonies), although no complete explanation has ever been given of this phenomenon. Why was it, one may still ask, that the spirit of dissent achieved its most spectacular success in England rather than on the Continent, say, among the Swiss and German Anabaptists? The following recent theory is one of the most interesting that has been offered:

> Perhaps this was because unlike the freewill Anabaptists of the Continental Reformation, the Regular (Calvinistic) Baptists and the other parties of the left in the English seventeenth-century turmoil (Civil War, Commonwealth, Restoration, and Revolution) never abandoned an interest in the state. Though they fought for the principle of the separation of church and state, they were nevertheless articulately concerned for the strengthening of the latter no less than for the purification of the former. And they were thus able to participate directly in the formation of our modern open, responsible democracy in a way which was never vouchsafed to the still more heroic and ethically resolute Anabaptists of sixteenth-century Germany.[2]

THE PURITAN REFORM. The way in which the free churches emerged in the period of the Puritan revolution may be described as an historical accident. The Puritans themselves had no thought of revoking the ancient principle of religious uniformity. Their aim was simply to establish Presbyterianism as the basis of conformity. The Puritan movement, although not the name, goes back to the days of Queen Elizabeth. The Puritan reformers were those who wanted to "purify" the English Church of "popish" practices. Moreover, since the Bible was the basis of religious authority for them, they rejected the claim of the Church to act as interpreter or custodian of the Bible. Some Puritans objected to the use of the Book of Common Prayer, because they be-

[2] G. H. Williams and A. M. Mergal, *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers* (*"The Library of Christian Classics,"* Vol. XXV [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957]), p. 24.

lieved that prayers would be more sincere if extemporaneous. The Puritans wanted every parish to have an educated and spiritually-minded minister who would take seriously the duty of preaching. Still others wanted to reorganize the Church along the lines of what they believed to be the scriptural pattern, as had been done by the Scottish Presbyterians, with ministers chosen by consent of each congregation, and with acceptance of Calvin's interpretation of the wording of the threefold ministry described in the New Testament—"bishops, presbyters, and pastors," as synonymous and equal terms. This would have meant ending the episcopal system.

In spite of the failure of all attempts to change the organization of the Church of England during the successive reigns of Elizabeth (1558–1603), James I (1603–25) and Charles I (1625–49), many Puritans remained within the Church confident that by act of Parliament the national Church would eventually be reshaped according to their hearts' desire. Some, however, gave up hope and left the Church to make a fresh start, and they became known variously as Separatists, Independents, Dissenters, and Nonconformists. Those reformers who stayed inside the Church seemingly had good reason for their faith in eventual change, since within the single generation preceding the Elizabethan Settlement, the constitution of England and the organization of the Church had been changed four successive times. Puritan hopes ran high when James I became King of England as well as Scotland, because Presbyterianism was already the established church of Scotland. That, however, was the very reason why James I would hear nothing of it in England. He had already had his fill of vexation in dealing with the Scottish presbyteries. He did give the Puritans one thing they wanted, a better translation of the Bible, which we now call the King James Version and which still excels all other English translations for its literary excellence.

James particularly provoked the Puritans by issuing in 1618 a *Book of Sports,* in which he encouraged the people to engage in popular games and dances on Sunday in direct violation of the command in the King James translation of the

Bible, "Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy" (Exod. 20:8). Charles I, with his Catholic Queen, Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII of France, and with William Laud as Archbishop of Canterbury, was even more repressive than James I. It was repression under Charles I that was to precipitate emigration to Holland and New England, where Puritan sympathizers under the leadership of men like John Winthrop and such clergymen as John Cotton, Richard Mather, and Thomas Hooker hoped to find, not religious liberty, but liberty to organize and worship according to the manner in which they believed. Political and religious problems came to a head during the reign of Charles I. Charles ruled as an absolute monarch, without calling Parliament except when he needed its authorization to levy new taxes. Political unrest increased. The Puritans precipitated trouble, religiously, when they insisted that only one church order had biblical sanction. Archbishop Laud replied in kind by insisting on religious uniformity. The crisis came when Charles and his archbishop attempted to force a common liturgy upon both the (Episcopal) Church of England and the (Presbyterian) Church of Scotland. The Scots rebelled and Charles had to call Parliament to raise money to pay for an army to put the rebellion down. A meeting of Parliament was called for April, 1640, which Charles I speedily terminated because of the grievances which were promptly expressed. This is known as the "Short Parliament." It became necessary to call the Parliament again and the "Long Parliament" began its sessions in November, 1640. The Puritan majority, now dominant, insisted that if the king were to have the money needed for the war against the Scots, he must first make thoroughgoing reforms, economic, political, and religious. Some of the king's favorites, including William Laud, were charged with high treason and condemned to death. The Star Chamber and the High Commission, instruments of Charles' tyrannical rule, were abolished. Charles now attempted to end this rule by Parliament. In January, 1642, the king attempted to seize five members of the House

of Commons whom he charged with treason. The Civil War began.

Now the Puritan majority in Parliament had its religious "day in court," and promptly proceeded to apply the same principle of uniformity which had caused so much woe in the past, but with Presbyterianism as the established faith. Episcopacy was abolished in 1643. The Westminster Assembly, consisting of 121 clergymen and thirty laymen, was called by Parliament to give advice concerning the proper creed and organization of the Church under the new order. The assembly included a majority of Presbyterians with a few Congregationalists and Episcopalians. The Westminster Assembly prepared a number of documents, including the now famous Westminster Confession and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, which were approved by both the English Parliament and the Scottish General Assembly in 1648.[3]

After Cromwell, the English, tired of Puritan austerities, restored the Stuarts to the throne. Under the Stuarts the supremacy of the Church of England was re-established and Puritans and Nonconformists were again persecuted. Then, in a final reversal, the English people called William and Mary to the throne. This was the so-called Glorious Revolution of 1688, an event followed in 1689 by the Edict of Toleration, which guaranteed religious freedom to all groups except Catholics and Unitarians. In spite of the Edict, however, dissenters continued to experience minor difficulties from time to time.

Puritanism as a political party weakened rapidly and by the end of the seventeenth century the term Puritan had disappeared from political usage. The English Presbyterians, who had played a dominant role religiously during the Puritan Revolution, diminished in numbers after Cromwell's time and it was not until 1876 that various groups united to form the Presbyterian Church of England. The most important results of the Puritan Revolution were social and political, the emergence of the middle class, and the settlement of the

[3] See Appendix A for Westminster Confession of Faith.

relationship of Parliament to the throne. Nevertheless, in spite of the re-establishment of the Anglican Church, the Puritan Revolution did result in a greater degree of religious toleration. Once having had an opportunity to speak, the voices of dissent could not again be completely stilled.

THE RISE OF CONGREGATIONALISM. Congregationalism has its roots in the period of confusion and unrest which followed the Elizabethan Settlement. At the beginning of the seventeenth century there were four parties within the established Church of England: the Anglicans, Catholic in theology and their view of the Church and its worship; the Puritans, Calvinist in theology, opposed to the concept of a hierarchy, but firmly committed to the establishment; Independents; and Separatists. The two latter groups shared a basically Calvinist theology with the Puritans, but held to a quite different theory of the nature of the church. Unlike the Presbyterian Puritans, "the Independents denied the authority of presbyteries and synods, and maintained that each congregation properly constituted is directly dependent on Christ, and subject to his law, and his law only."[4] With this the Separatists would have agreed; indeed, it is difficult to distinguish between Independents and Separatists. If a distinction must be drawn, it would seem to be that Independency had more of a sense of the church—of the common tradition—than Separatism.

Robert Browne (1550–1633) is often said to have been the first to give theoretical expression to the principles of Congregationalism. Originally a Presbyterian Puritan who came to hold Separatist views, he gathered a congregation about him at Norwich in 1580 and in 1581 took refuge with his followers in Holland. There in 1582 he published several treatises whose titles are lengthy but expressive, one of them being: "A Treatise of Reformation without Tarying for anie, and of the Wickedness of those Preachers which will not reforme . . . till the Magistrate commande and compell them." Browne expounded in his writings the view that the true

[4] Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1877), I, 827.

church is a community of true believers, rather than a community of the whole nation, and that each local church should control its own affairs. These are today basic Congregational principles, but Robert Browne himself, after being many times imprisoned for his beliefs, returned to the Church of England, and can hardly be called the Founder of Congregationalism in a denominational sense.

Congregationalism as a denomination sprang from a Separatist group at Scrooby, about 150 miles north of London. The Scrooby congregation met in the home of William Brewster and was led by John Robinson, a former Anglican clergyman. Because of the pressure for conformity in England under James I, the Scrooby group emigrated to Holland, establishing themselves in Leyden in 1609. In Holland three English exiles, Henry Jacob, William Ames, and William Bradshaw, developed a new theology, "the Independent, or non-Separatist Congregational position, from which modern Congregationalism has directly stemmed,"[5] and seem to have converted Robinson to this viewpoint. Henry Jacob later returned to England and in 1616 founded a church in Southwark, "the first Congregational church to remain in continuous existence."[6] Here today, in a suburb of London, exists the Pilgrim Fathers' Memorial Church (1864), direct successor to the original Southwark church. A few years later a minority from the Leyden congregation decided to sail for America and plant in the wilderness "a Church without a Bishop and a State without a king."

THE BAPTISTS. The first Baptist church was probably organized in Holland by John Smyth, who had led a Separatist flock from Gainsborough, near Scrooby in England, to Amsterdam. There, perhaps under Mennonite influence, John Smyth had become convinced that believers' baptism was the apostolic method of admission to church membership. In 1608 or 1609, accordingly, he baptized himself and some of his followers. Smyth himself adopted Arminian views, hold-

[5] Williston Walker, *History of the Christian Church* (rev. ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), p. 409.

[6] *Ibid.*

ing that the atonement of Christ was for the benefit of all mankind, not merely for the Elect. Smyth died in 1612 and some of his followers later united with the Dutch Mennonites.

Others, under the leadership of Thomas Helwys (1550?–1616?), returned to England in 1611 or 1612 and established in London the first Baptist church actually on English soil. They became known as General Baptists, because they maintained the Arminian view of universal atonement. The first Particular Baptist Church, holding to the Calvinist doctrine of particular, or individual, salvation, was founded in 1633 in Southwark, London. In 1644 (or 1646) seven Particular Baptist churches subscribed to a confession of faith in which immersion was required, and this became the accepted practice of those who were from that time called Baptists.[7] It was the Particular type of Baptist church which first established itself in New England at the time when Roger Williams was banished from Massachusetts Bay Colony because of his uncompromising demand for religious liberty and freedom of conscience. When Roger Williams established the first Rhode Island settlement in Providence in 1636, and founded the first Baptist Church in 1639, he was seeking a place where the magistrate would not exercise authority in religious matters!

While Baptists have in the past chosen sides for and against Calvin, they have not been basically concerned with theology, being willing to steer a middle course between predestination and free will, for example. Their real interest has focused on the importance of the Scriptures, on the view of the church as a community of true believers, with its accompanying practice of believers' baptism, and on the strict separation of church and state. They have been less insistent, in their history as a denomination, than Congregationalists upon education as a requirement for the ministry, affirming the primary importance of the guidance of the Holy Spirit in the conduct of religious life. Despite this fact, they have founded and supported a number of outstanding educational

[7] See Appendix B.

institutions, most of which were originally established for the training of the clergy. If they have sometimes suffered from a loss of the benefits of an educated ministry, they have at least maintained a consistently democratic system of religious life, with religious authority residing in the local congregation, each congregation choosing its own ministers and exercising discipline over its own members. In this sphere of church organization and discipline, Baptist churches represent the ultimate degree of religious democracy.

John Bunyan (1628–88), a tinker and lay Baptist preacher of Bedford, England, exemplifies in his life and writings the best qualities of the early English Baptists. Arrested in 1660 by agents of the restored monarchy, he spent the next twelve years in jail, during which time he wrote nine books, including his autobiography, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners.* Then, reimprisoned briefly soon after he had been released in 1672, he began the writing of *Pilgrim's Progress,* the first part of which was published in 1678, and the second part in 1684. Toward the end of Part II may be found one of Bunyan's few attempts to use the verse form, some stanzas of which form the basis of our modern hymn "To Be a Pilgrim." This is as good an expression of the original Baptist spirit as can be found and is here given in the original wording:

Who would true valour see,
  Let him come hither;
One here will constant be,
  Come wind, come weather.

There's no discouragement
Shall make him once relent
His first avow'd intent
  To be a pilgrim.

Whoso beset him round
  With dismal stories,
Do but themselves confound—
  His strife the more is.

No lion can him fright,
He'll with a giant fight,
But he will have a right
To be a pilgrim.

Hobgoblin nor foul fiend,
Can daunt his spirit;
He knows he at the end
Shall life inherit.

Then fancies fly away;
He'll fear not what men say;
He'll labour night and day
To be a pilgrim.[8]

THE QUAKERS. The rise of Quakerism in England was made possible by conditions resulting from the first period of civil war in the 1640's. During this period when the English social order was badly undermined by years of local fighting and all authority, whether that of monarchy or Parliament, was being called in question, a number of small but determined radical groups emerged, such as Levelers, Diggers, Fifth Monarchy Men, and the like, most of which combined religious with social and political convictions. Some of them, like Seekers and Finders, and Quakers, exhibited mystical tendencies. Sporadic persecution of these sects during the Cromwellian period was intensified at the time of the Restoration (1660) when Anglicanism again became the established Church of England. Yet the Quakers presented such a bold and stubborn resistance that eventually, in the words of a contemporary historian, "the government grew weary of dealing with so much perverseness and so began with letting them alone."[9] Then at last in 1689 came the Act of Toleration.

The name "Quaker," like most religious names, was originally an epithet. George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, wrote in his *Journal* that it "was Justice Bennet of Derby that

[8] Quoted from H. E. B. Speight, *The Life and Writings of John Bunyan* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1928), pp. 119–120.

[9] Burnet, quoted in Robinson, *Readings in European History* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1906), II, 259.

first called us Quakers because we bid them tremble at the word of God, and this was in the year 1650."[10] Quakers originally called themselves by various names, such as "Friends," "Friends in Truth," and "Children of Light," but finally adopted the name "Religious Society of Friends."

Quakers, or Friends, like to think of themselves as a third way in Christendom over against Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. William Penn named one of his books *Primitive Christianity Revived,* a title which aptly expresses the goal of George Fox and his early followers. Fox used the New Testament as a religious yardstick. On this basis, he opposed the payment of church tithes in support of a professional ministry. Further, he opposed the whole system of a paid ministry, because he could find no support for it in the New Testament. Not only did he refuse to worship in "steeple-houses" of the established church, but he felt a call to summon people out of the steeple-houses to worship in truth. So he marched up and down England, entering churches to interrupt the sermon and seizing the opportunity to preach the truth to people as he saw it.

Early Quakers also denied the validity of the sacraments and the use of all ritual in the church service. They furthermore scandalized not only the religious authorities but the civil authorities as well by refusing to give oaths in court, by opposition to the bearing of arms, and by unwillingness to give "hat-honor," i.e., refusing to remove hats in the presence of so-called superiors, because of their conviction that all, men and women alike, are equally children of God. It is not difficult to understand why Fox was persecuted. According to Geoffrey F. Nuttall, "it was because he was a revolutionary, and a revolutionary in religion at a time when religion dominated men's minds."[11] The same could be said of all the early Quakers.

George Fox exceeded the Protestant reformers in an important way in dealing with the basis of religious authority.

[10] George Fox's *Journal,* ed. J. Nickalls (Cambridge: University Press, 1958), p. 58.

[11] *Ibid.,* p. xxiv (Intro.).

He insisted that God himself still speaks to man directly rather than through the written word alone, a doctrine of continuing revelation which remains distinctive of Quakerism. This emphasis upon inwardness, upon direct experience, says a present-day Quaker historian, is "the principal characteristic of Quakerism, which seeks to be based on New Testament Christianity. Above the outward Bible, the outward sermon, the outward Christ, the outward sacrament, the Society of Friends has uplifted the inward revelation, the Inward Christ, the inward sacrament as of supreme, though not exclusive, importance. For the Quaker, outward and inward combine in an intimate organic relation, but the inward is primary."[12] It should not be forgotten, however, that from the beginning Quakerism has insisted on a balance between inward spirituality and a readiness to assume ethical responsibility. This statement may be proved by reference to the consistent record of Quakers in support of humanitarian enterprises—work for prison reform; the improvement of the penal code, and especially the abolition of capital punishment; the better care of the insane; the abolition of slavery; and in latter days, although not at first, work for the advancement of education.

The turning-point in the history of early Quakerism came in June, 1652, when Fox fell in with a large group of Seekers who were accustomed to gather at Preston Patrick once a month for religious fellowship. After a series of meetings, in which Fox participated, many hundreds came to share Fox's experience of the Living Christ. Out of this group came leaders who carried the Quaker message through northern England in 1653 and 1654 and through the south of England in the summer of 1654. Within another year Quakerism had swept through England and was being preached in Ireland and Scotland, winning chief support from Seekers and Baptists, but grim hostility from the chief Puritan groups. By 1656 it had reached America. The Puritans of Massachusetts Bay Colony would have nothing to do with the Quakers, ex-

[12] H. H. Brinton, *The Quaker Doctrine of Inward Peace* (Pamphlet) (Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Penna., 1948), p. 6.

cept to hang four of them on Boston Common. But Rhode Island made them welcome, and in 1681 William Penn, receiving a grant of almost all of the territory belonging to the present state of Pennsylvania, dedicated it to what he called a "holy experiment," guaranteeing colonists complete religious freedom as well as a degree of political responsibility.

Robert Barclay published in 1678 an *Apology* which provides an excellent supplement to George Fox's *Journal* for an understanding of Quaker theology.[13] Barclay's viewpoint has been described as "English liberal Protestantism, modified by the emphasis on direct revelation, a lay ministry, and the 'spiritualization' of the sacraments."[14] The death of Fox in 1691 marked the close of the apostolic age of Quaker religion.

CONCLUSION. This appears to be an appropriate place at which to terminate a survey of the Jewish-Christian tradition through the Reformation Era. College and university courses dealing with the subject of Religion in America generally begin at this point, with the departure from England and coming to America of Anglican Puritans and members of dissenting churches—Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers.

Furthermore, the emergence in seventeenth-century England (and Holland) of denominational churches represents a significant advance in the long struggle of the church to gain independence from state control. The denominations which arose during and after the Puritan Revolution were "free churches," independent of the civil authority although not without responsibility to the civil order, their freedom of worship guaranteed by the Act of Toleration in 1689. The conservative branches of the Protestant Reformation in Germany and Switzerland still remained captive to the civil authorities. Not even in Scotland was a solution found which made the church independent of the state. Eighteenth-century America "furnishes the first example in history of a gov-

[13] See Appendix C for a statement of Quaker principles drawn up by Robert Barclay.

[14] T. E. Drake, in *Encyclopedia of Religion,* ed. Vergilius Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945), p. 721.

ernment deliberately depriving itself of all legislative control over religion."[15] But the necessary preparation for this definitive step was furnished in the period of the Puritan Revolution, with which we have concluded our survey.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Appendix A

The Westminster Confession of Faith (parts)[16]

[In 1645 the English House of Commons requested the Westminster Assembly, consisting chiefly of Puritan divines, to draw up a Confession of Faith for the Church of England. The resulting Westminster Confession of Faith had a very short life as the creed of the Church of England but it was adopted, in 1647, by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, where it is still authoritative, and with some modifications it remains the doctrinal standard of Presbyterianism throughout the world to the present day.]

I. Of the Holy Scripture

. . . The authority of the Holy Scripture . . . dependeth not on the testimony of any man or Church; but wholly upon God (who is truth itself) the author thereof. . . . Our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness, by and with the Word, in our hearts. . . . Nothing is at any time to be added—whether by new revelations of the Spirit or traditions of men. . . . The Church is finally to appeal to them. . . . The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself. . . .

III. Of God's Eternal Decree

God from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatever comes to pass. Yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin or is violence offered to the will of his creatures. . . . By the decree of God, for the

[15] Philip Schaff, quoted in W. S. Hudson, *The Story of the Christian Church* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1958), p. 83.

[16] Henry Bettenson (ed.), *Documents of the Christian Church* (New York and London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1947), pp. 347–351.

manifestation of His glory, some men and angels are predestined unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death. . . . Neither are any redeemed by Christ . . . but the elect only. The rest of mankind God was pleased . . . to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonor and wrath. . . .

VI. Of the Fall of Man, etc.

Our first parents . . . so became dead in sin and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body. They being the root of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed, to all their posterity . . . whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil. . . .

IX. Of Free Will

. . . Man, by his fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good. . . . When God converts a sinner and translates him into the state of grace, He freeth him from his natural bondage under sin; and by His grace alone enables him freely to will and to do that which is spiritually good. . . .

X. Of Effectual Calling

All those whom God hath predestined unto life—and those only—He is pleased, in His appointed and accepted time, effectually to call by His Word and Spirit . . . not from anything foreseen in man, who is altogether passive therein. . . . Elect infants, dying in infancy, are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when, where, and how He pleaseth. . . .

XI. Of Justification

Those whom God effectually calleth, He also freely justifieth . . . by imputing the obedience and satisfaction of Christ unto them. . . . They are not justified, until the Holy Spirit doth in due time actually apply Christ unto them. . . . Although they can never fall from the state of justification, yet they may by their sins fall under God's fatherly displeasure.

XVI. Of Good Works

Good works are only such as God hath commanded in His Holy Word—and not such as, without the warrant thereof, are devised by men out of blind zeal or upon any pretense of good intention. . . . Works done by unregenerate men—although, for the matter of them, they may be things which God commands . . . are sinful and cannot please God. . . . And yet their neglect of them is more sinful and displeasing unto God.

XVIII. Of Assurance of Grace and Salvation

. . . This certainly is not a bare conjecture and probable persuasion grounded upon fallible hope, but an infallible assurance of faith—founded upon the divine truth of the promises of salvation, the inward evidence of those graces unto which the promises are made, the testimony of the spirit of adoption witnessing with our spirits. . . .

XX. Of Christian Liberty, and Liberty of Conscience

. . . God alone is Lord of the conscience; and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in anything contrary to His Word—or beside it, if matters of faith or worship. So that to believe such doctrines or to obey such commands out of conscience, is to betray true liberty of conscience. . . . For their publishing of such opinions or maintaining of such practices as . . . are destructive to the external peace and order which Christ hath established in the Church, they may lawfully be called to account, and proceeded against by the censures of the Church and by the power of the civil magistrate.

XXIII. Of the Civil Magistrate

. . . It is his duty to take order that unity and peace be preserved in the Church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented and reformed, and all ordinances of God duly settled, administered and observed. For the better effecting whereof, he hath power to call synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatsoever is transacted within be according to the mind of God. . . .

XXV. Of the Church

The Catholic or universal Church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect. . . . The visible Church, which is also Catholic or universal under the Gospel, consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, together with their children. . . . This Catholic Church hath been sometimes more, sometimes less, visible; and particular Churches—which are members thereof—are more or less pure. . . . There is no other head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ. Nor can the Pope of Rome in any sense be head thereof; but is that Antichrist, that man of sin, and son of perdition that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ and all that is called God.

XXVIII. Of Baptism

. . . Not only those that do actually profess faith and obedience unto Christ, but also the infants of one or both believing parents, are

to be baptized. . . . Grace and salvation are not so inseparably annexed to it, as that . . . all that are baptized are undoubtedly regenerated. . . .

XXIX. Of the Lord's Supper

. . . In this Sacrament Christ is not offered up to his Father, nor any real sacrifices made at all . . . but only a commemoration . . . so that the Popish sacrifice of the mass is most abominably injurious to Christ's one only sacrifice.

Appendix B

The First Baptist Confession of Faith[17]

[Drawn up by seven Particular Baptist Churches in Southwark, London, in 1644 (or 1646).]

. . . (III) . . . God hath, before the foundation of the world, foreordained some men to eternal life through Jesus Christ, to the praise and glory of His grace: leaving the rest in their sin, to their just condemnation, the praise of His justice . . . (VIII) The rule of this knowledge, faith, and obedience, concerning the worship of God—in which is contained the whole duty of man—is (not men's laws, or unwritten traditions, but) only the Word of God contained in the Scriptures; . . . which are the only rule of holiness and obedience for all saints, at all times, in all places to be observed . . . (XXI) Jesus Christ by His death did purchase salvation for the elect that God gave unto Him; these only have interest in Him and fellowship with Him. . . . The free gift of eternal life is given to them, and none else. . . . (XXIII) All those that have this precious gift wrought in them by the Spirit, can never finally nor totally fall away. . . . (XXXIII) The Church is a company of visible saints, called and separated from the world by the Word and Spirit of God, to the visible profession of the faith of the Gospel; being baptized into that faith. . . . (XXXV) And all His servants . . . are to lead their lives in this walled sheepfold and watered garden, . . . to supply each other's wants inward and outward. . . . (XXXVI) Being thus joined, every Church hath power given them from Christ, for their well-being to choose among themselves meet persons for elders and deacons . . . and not have power to impose on them either these or any other. . . . (XXXIX) Baptism is an ordinance of the New Testament, given by Christ, to be dispensed upon persons *professing faith,* or that are made disciples; who, upon profession of faith, ought to be baptized and after to par-

[17] Bettenson (ed.), *Documents of the Christian Church,* pp. 351–353.

take of the Lord's Supper. . . . (XL) The way and manner of dispensing this ordinance, is *dipping or plunging the body under water.* It, being a sign, must answer the things signified; which is, that interest the saints have in the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ; and that as certainly as the body is buried under water, and risen again, so certainly shall the bodies of the saints be raised by the power of Christ, in the day of the resurrection, to reign with Christ. (XLVIII) . . . We acknowledge with thankfulness, that God hath made this present king and parliament honorable in throwing down the prelatical hierarchy . . . and concerning the worship of God, there is but one lawgiver . . . Jesus Christ; who hath given laws and rules sufficient, in His word, for His worship; and to make any more, were to charge Christ, with want of wisdom or faithfulness, or both. . . . It is the magistrates' duty to tender the liberty of men's consciences . . . without which all other liberties will not be worth the naming. . . . Neither can we forbear the doing of that, which our understandings and consciences bind us to do. And if the magistrates should require us to do otherwise, we are to yield our persons in a passive way to their power . . . (The conclusion.) Thus we desire to give Jesus Christ that which is His. . . . Also we confess, that we know but in part, and that we are ignorant of many things which we desire and seek to know. And if any shall do us that friendly part, to show us from the Word of God that we see not, we shall have cause to be thankful to God and to them. But if any man shall impose on us anything that we see not to be commended by our Lord Jesus Christ, we should rather . . . die a thousand deaths, than to do anything . . . against the light of our own consciences.

Appendix C

Leading Principles of the Quakers[18]

[Drawn up by Robert Barclay in 1678, there are fifteen propositions (all but one of which are quoted here), which constitute the headings of the successive chapters of Barclay's *Apology for the Quakers.*]

I. Concerning the True Foundation of Knowledge

Seeing the height of all happiness is placed in the true knowledge of God . . . the right understanding of this foundation and ground of knowledge is that which is most necessary to be known and believed in the first place.

[18] Bettenson (ed.), *Documents of the Christian Church,* pp. 354–59.

II. Concerning Immediate Revelation

Seeing no man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son revealeth Him; and seeing the revelation of the Son is in and by the Spirit; therefore the testimony of the Spirit is that alone by which the true knowledge of God hath been, is and can be only revealed; . . . by the revelation of the same Spirit He hath manifested Himself all along unto the sons of men, both patriarchs, prophets, and apostles; which revelations of God by the Spirit, whether by outward voices and appearances, dreams, or inward objective manifestations in the heart, were of old the formal object of their faith, and remain yet so to be; since the object of the saints' faith is the same in all ages, though set forth under divers administrations. Moreover, these divine inward revelations, which we make absolutely necessary for the building up of true faith, neither do nor can contradict the outward testimony of the Scriptures, or right and sound reason. Yet from hence it will not follow, that these divine revelations are to be subjected to the examination either of the outward testimony of the Scriptures, or of the natural reason of man, as to a more noble or certain rule and touchstone; for this divine revelation, and inward illumination, is that which is evident and clear of itself, forcing, by its own evidence and clearness, the well-disposed understanding to assent, irresistibly moving the same thereunto. . . .

III. Concerning the Scriptures

From these revelations of the Spirit of God to the saints have proceeded the Scriptures of truth, . . . nevertheless, because they are only a declaration of the fountain, and not the fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the adequate primary rule of faith and manners. Nevertheless, as that which giveth a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit from which they have all their excellency and certainty. . . .

IV. Concerning the Condition of Man in the Fall

All Adam's posterity (or mankind) both Jews and Gentiles, as to the first Adam or earthly man, is fallen, degenerated, and dead, deprived of the sensation or feeling of this inward testimony or seed of God; and is subject unto the power, nature, and seed of the serpent. . . . Hence are rejected the Socinian and Pelagian errors, in exalting a natural light; as also those of the Papists, and most Protestants, who affirm that man, without the true grace of God, may be a true minister of the Gospel. Nevertheless, this seed is not imputed to infants, until by transgression they actually join themselves therewith:

for 'they are by nature the children of wrath, who walk according to the power of the prince of the air.' . . .

V. and VI. Concerning the Universal Redemption by Christ, and Also the Saving and Spiritual Light Wherewith Every Man is Enlightened

God out of his infinite love, who delighteth not in the death of a sinner, but that all should live and be saved, hath so loved the world, that He hath given His only Son a light, that whosoever believeth in Him should be saved; who enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. . . .

. . . Therefore Christ hath tasted death for every man, not only for all kinds of men, as some vainly talk, but for everyone, of all kinds; the benefit of whose offering is not only extended to such who have the distinct outward knowledge of His death and sufferings, as the same is declared in the Scriptures, but even unto those who are necessarily excluded from the benefits of this knowledge by some inevitable accident; which knowledge we willingly confess to be very profitable and comfortable, but not absolutely needful unto such from whom God himself hath withheld it.

VII. Concerning Justification

As many as resist not this light, but receive the same, in them is produced a holy, pure and spiritual birth; bringing forth holiness, righteousness, purity, and all those other blessed fruits which are acceptable to God. By which holy birth (to wit, Jesus Christ formed within us, and working his works in us) as we are sanctified, so are we justified in the sight of God. . . .

VIII. Concerning Perfection

In whom this holy and pure birth is fully brought forth, the body of death and sin comes to be crucified and removed, and their hearts united and subjected to the truth, so as not to obey any suggestion or temptation of the evil one, but to be free from actually sinning and transgressing of the law of God, and in that respect perfect. Yet does this perfection all admit of a growth; and there remaineth a possibility of sinning. . . .

X. Concerning the Ministry

As by this gift, or light of God, all true knowledge in things spiritual is received and revealed . . . by the leading, moving and drawing hereof ought every Evangelist and Christian pastor to be led and ordered in his labor and work of the Gospel, both as to the place where, as to the persons to whom, and as to the times when, he is to minister. Moreover, those who have this authority may and ought

to preach the Gospel, though without human commission or literature, as on the other hand, those who want the authority of this divine gift, however learned or authorized by the commissions of men and churches, are to be esteemed but as deceivers, and not true ministers of the Gospel. Also those who have received this holy and unspotted gift, as they have freely received, so are they freely to give, without hire or bargaining, far less to use it as a trade to get money by it.

XI. Concerning Worship

All true and acceptable worship to God is offered in the inward and immediate moving and drawing of His own Spirit, which is neither limited to places, times, or persons: for though we be to worship Him always, in that we are to fear before Him; yet as to the outward signification thereof in prayers, praises and preaching, we ought not to do it where and when we will, but where and when we are moved thereunto by the secret inspiration of His Spirit in our hearts; . . . All other worship then, both praises, prayers and preachings, which man sets about in his own will, and at his own appointment, which he can both begin and end at his pleasure, do or leave undone as himself sees meet; whether they be a prescribed form, as a liturgy, or prayers conceived extemporarily, by the natural strength and faculty of the mind; they are all but superstitions, will-worship, and abominable idolatry, in the sight of God; which are to be denied, rejected, and separated from in this day of His spiritual arising.

XII. Concerning Baptism

As there is one Lord and one faith, so there is one baptism; which is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. And this baptism is a pure and spiritual thing, to wit, the baptism of the Spirit and fire, by which we are buried with Him, that being washed and purged from our sins, we may walk in newness of life; of which the baptism of John was a figure which was commanded for a time, and not to continue forever. As to the baptism of infants, it is a mere human tradition, for which neither precept nor practice is to be found in all the Scripture.

XIII. Concerning the Communion, or Participation of the Body and Blood of Christ

The Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ is inward and spiritual, which is the participation of His flesh and blood, by which the inward man is daily nourished in the hearts of those in whom Christ dwells; of which things the breaking of bread by Christ with His disciples was a figure, which they even used in the Church for a time, who had received the substance, for the cause of the weak; even

as abstaining from things strangled, and from blood, the washing one another's feet and the anointing of the sick with oil; all which are commanded with no less authority and solemnity than the former; yet seeing they are but the shadow of better things, they cease in such as have obtained the substance.

XIV. Concerning the Power of the Civil Magistrate in Matters Purely Religious and Pertaining to the Conscience

Since God hath assumed to himself the power and dominion of the conscience, who alone can rightly instruct and govern it, therefore it is not lawful for any whatsoever, by virtue of any authority or principality they bear in the government of this world, to force the consciences of others; . . . provided always, that no man, under the pretense of conscience, prejudice his neighbor in his life or estate; or do anything destructive to, or inconsistent with, human society; in which case the law is for the transgressor, and justice to be administered upon all, without respect of persons.

XV. Concerning Salutations and Recreations, etc.

Seeing the chief end of all religion is to redeem man from the spirit and vain conversation of this world, and to lead into inward communion with God, before whom if we fear always, we are accounted happy, therefore all the vain customs and habits hereof, both in word and deed, are to be rejected and forsaken; such as the taking off the hat to a man, the bowing and cringings of the body, and other such salutations of that kind, with all the foolish and superstitious formalities attending them. . . .

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Why is it that the emergence of modern denominations, the so-called "free churches," marks a turning-point in the history of Christianity?
2. What explanation has been offered recently of the historical phenomenon that religious toleration developed first in Holland and Great Britain rather than in the regions of the German and Swiss Reformations?
3. What was it the Puritan reformers in England wanted? (See Appendix A for Calvinistic emphases in the Westminster Confession of Faith.)
4. Discuss the origin and special characteristics of English Congregationalism.

5. What have been the central interests of Baptists? (See Appendix B as well as text.)
6. Why were the early Quakers so bitterly persecuted?
7. What emphases mark off Quakers from other religious groups? (Read Barclay's list of chief principles in Appendix C as well as text.)

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE*

1710 B.C.	Settlement of Hebrew Clans in Egypt during Hyksos Rule (1710–1550)
1560	Expulsion of Hyksos by Native Egyptians
1290–1224	Ramses II
1280	Exodus
1200–1020	Period of Judges
1020–1000	Saul
1000–961	David
960–922	Solomon
922	Division of Hebrew Monarchy

The Divided Kingdom

Judah (922–587)		*Israel* (922–721)	
922–915	Rehoboam	922–901	Jeroboam I
915–913	Abijam		
913–873	Asa		
		901–900	Nadab
		900–877	Baasha
		877–876	Elah
		876	Zimri
873–849	Jehoshaphat	876–869	Omri
		869–850	Ahab
			Elijah†
			Battle of Qarqar, 853
849–842	Jehoram (Joram)	850–849	Ahaziah
842	Ahaziah	849–842	Jehoram
842–837	Athaliah		
		842–815	Jehu
			Elisha
837–800	Joash	815–801	Jehoahaz
800–783	Amaziah	801–786	Jehoash

* Many dates in the following chronological table must be regarded as approximate. The chronology of W. F. Albright is followed for the biblical period.

† Names in italics are of prophets.

783–742	Uzziah (Azariah)	786–746	Jeroboam II
			Amos
			Hosea
750	Jotham (Co-regent)	746–745	Zechariah
742–735	Jotham	745	Shallum
	Isaiah	745/4–737/6	Menahem
	Micah	737/6–736/5	Pekahiah
		736/5–732	Pekah
		732–724	Hoshea
735–715	Ahaz	722/1	Fall of Samaria
715–687	Hezekiah		
687–642	Manasseh		
642–640	Amon		
640–609	Josiah		
	Jeremiah		
609	Jehoiahaz		
609–598	Jehoiakim		
598–597	Jehoiachin		
597–587	Zedekiah		
	Ezekiel		
	Fall of Jerusalem		
587–538	Exile		
	II Isaiah		
538	Edict of Cyrus		
458, 432, 428, 398 (rival dates)	Ezra Brings Law from Babylonia		
445	Nehemiah's return		
336–323	Empire of Alexander the Great		
333	Battle of Issus		
323	Death of Alexander		
323	Jews under Ptolemies of Egypt		
198	Jews under Seleucid Kings of Antioch in Syria		
167	Maccabean Revolt		
166–160	Judas, first leader of Maccabees (after death of Mattathias)		
165	Rededication of Temple		
160–142	Jonathan		
142–134	Simon		
134–104	John Hyrcanus, Simon's Son		
104–103	Aristobulus I		
103–76	Alexander Jannaeus		
76–67	Queen Alexandra		
66–63	Aristobulus II		
63	Pompey Annexes Palestine to Roman Empire		
40–4	Herod the Great		

6–4	Birth of Jesus of Nazareth
4 B.C.–A.D. 6	Herod Archelaus, Tetrarch of Judea, Samaria, Idumea
4 B.C.–A.D. 39	Herod Antipas, Tetrarch of Galilee and Perea
4 B.C.–A.D. 34	Herod Philip, Tetrarch of Iturea and Trachonitis
A.D. 29	Death of Jesus
35	Conversion of Paul
47–57	Paul's Missionary Journeys
62	Death of James, Brother of Jesus
61–64	Death of Paul and Peter in Rome
64	Persecution by Nero
96	Persecution by Domitian
111–113	Pliny the Younger, Governor of Bithynia and Pontus
250	Persecution by Decius
251–350	Saint Anthony of Egypt
290–346	Pachomius
303	Persecution by Diocletian
325	Council of Nicea
329–379	Basil the Great
354–430	Augustine of Hippo
381	Council of Constantinople
410	Fall of Rome to Alaric the Goth
432	Saint Patrick's Mission to Ireland
440–461	Pope Leo I, "The Great"
451	Council of Chalcedon
480–543	Benedict of Nursia
483–565	Justinian I, Byzantine Emperor
496	Conversion of Clovis, King of the Franks
563	Columba Goes from Ireland to Iona
590–604	Pope Gregory I, "The Great"
601	Augustine Founds See of Canterbury
622	Beginning of Muslim Era
664	Synod of Whitby
726	Outbreak of Iconoclastic Controversy
729	Winfrid (Boniface) Begins Mission to Germany
732	Charles Martel Stops Muslim Advance at Tours
800	Charlemagne Crowned Emperor by Pope Leo III
1020–1085	Hildebrand, later Pope Gregory VII (1073–85)
1054	Final Break between Eastern and Western Churches
1077	Penance of Henry IV before Gregory VII at Canossa
1090–1153	Bernard of Clairvaux
1095	Council of Clermont
	Pope Urban II Preaches First Crusade
1170–1221	Saint Dominic
1176	Peter Waldo Begins Waldensian Movement
1182–1226	Saint Francis of Assisi

1198–1216	Pope Innocent III
1215	Fourth Lateran Council
1225–1274	Saint Thomas Aquinas
1233	Beginning of Inquisition
1284–1303	Pope Boniface VIII
1309–1377	Papacy at Avignon
1328–1415	John Wyclif
1373–1415	John Hus
1378–1417	The Great Schism
1415	Council of Constance John Hus Burned
1491–1556	Ignatius Loyola, Founder of Jesuit Order
1505–1572	John Knox
1509–1564	John Calvin
1516	Erasmus Prints First Greek New Testament
1517	Luther's Ninety-five Theses
1521	Diet of Worms
1522	Zwingli Begins Reforms at Zurich
1524–1526	Peasants' War
1525	Beginning of Anabaptist Reformation at Zurich
1534	Henry VIII Breaks with Rome
1536	First Edition of Calvin's *Institutes*
1555	Peace of Augsburg (*Cuius regio, eius religio*)
1557	Presbyterianism Established as National Church of Scotland
1560	Elizabethan Settlement in England
1572	Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day in France
1603–1625	James I
1616	Founding of Congregational Church in Southwark, England
1620	Some Members of Leiden Congregation leave for America
1624–1691	George Fox, Founder of Quakers
1625–1649	Charles I
1640–1660	Puritan Domination of England
1642	Outbreak of Civil War in England
1643	Westminster Assembly Convened
1660	Restoration of Stuarts to English Throne
1689	Act of Toleration in England

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